THIS WEEK: A SPECIAL TWELVE-PAGE RESORT AND TRAVEL REPORT

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THE ELEPHANT WHO WANTED TO GO TO CITY HALL PARK
Her name is Sudana, and she was reluctant to take cover during the May 4 CD drill in New York, so her keeper at the Bronx Zoo gave her a most undignified assist. For further details of the madness (and the growing sanity) see Robert Light's story below.

COLD WAR AT ANY PRICE

The Summit wreckers at work: Spy planes and new Bomb tests

By Kumar Goshal

MAY BROUGHT no flowers to the nation's capital this year—except some that might be considered appropriate for a funeral. And funereal was the appropriate word for the atmosphere in Washington as the result of two incidents in the first week of this month.

- On May 1 a U.S. military reconnaissance plane was shot down by rocket inside the Soviet Union, nearly 1,500 miles from the Turkish border.
- On May 6 President Eisenhower announced that the United States would unilaterally resume underground nuclear tests.

Both events took place at a time when influential American officials were determinedly opposing a nuclear test ban, a disarmament agreement and any Summit modification of the status of West Berlin. It came also as the President, obsessed with springtime golf, was taking an increasingly casual attitude toward the top level conference in Paris beginning May 16. Taken together, the events seemed to indicate the strength as well as the desperation of those who sought to block an end to the cold war.

HOW'S THE WEATHER? On May 5 Premier Khrushchev told the Supreme Soviet that a U.S. plane—bearing "no identification signs"—had violated Soviet air space and had been shot down on May 1. He said Moscow was sending a strong protest to Washington.

In Washington, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, a civilian agency, said that the plane was one of its weather-checking unarmed aircraft with a single pilot, Francis Powers, missing since May 1 on a flight from the U.S. air base near Adana in Turkey.

The State Department vigorously denied that the flight was for espionage—or that Washington had even ordered such flights.

Before the echo of U.S. official and

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THE DAY THEY ARRESTED CITY HALL PARK

Great N. Y. demonstration against CD insanity

By Robert E. Light

FIVE UNITS of enemy aircraft loaded with H-bombs flying south over Canada toward the United States were reported by National Warning System headquarters at 2 p.m. on May 3. Civil defense director Leo A. Hoegh immediately boarded a helicopter in Washington for a Virginia command post to direct operations.

A half-hour later three enemy submarines were reported heading toward the East Coast. The country's 566 television stations shut down, while the 4,335 radio stations either left the air or joined the Conelrad emergency network. President Eisenhower's recorded voice was heard over Conelrad urging cooperation with civil defense officials.

The planes and submarines, of course, were make-believe. They were part of a game the government was playing called Operation Alert-1960, a 50-hour exercise designed to test the nation's civil defense apparatus. In some cities only CD personnel were expected to play, but in others the public was asked to down tools and head for shelters from 2:15 to 2:30 p.m. on May 3.

THE RESISTERS: Civil defense officials proclaimed the drill a success. But except for the professionals, few saw the exercise as more than unlikely sport. Some found touches of Gilbert and Sullivan in the grim-faced air raid wardens who donned helmets and pushed annoyed pedestrians into doorways while a supervisor held a stop-watch to see if they could break last

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AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT ON THE SUMMIT AND PEACE

The lie of U. S. policy stands exposed before the world

THE PRACTICE OF DECEIT by the U.S. government in its conduct of world relations was exposed last week for all the world to see. The government which has arrogated to itself the posture of seeking to bring peace to the world, while branding the socialist group of nations as aggressors and enemies of peace, was caught in an atrocious tissue of lies—adding up to an attempt at monumental deceit not only of all other nations but of the peace-seeking American people themselves.

The disclosure of these lies indicates that agents of this government, on the eve of a Summit meeting for world peace at Paris, were secretly taking deliberate steps to sabotage the Summit meeting in such a way as to be able to blame the Soviet Union, via the shooting down of an allegedly unarmed "weather" plane, for the failure of agreement in the eyes of the rest of the world.

"Mousetrapped," (to use the term applied by the New York **Times** military expert, Hanson W. Baldwin) into tipping its hand, Washington thereupon exposed its full hand, announcing to the world that it now intends to resume underground nuclear testing at the very moment that its negotiators at Geneva were considering a Soviet proposal for joint tests for the purpose of improving techniques of detecting and identifying underground explosions.

A decision such as that on the tests could hardly have made overnight, or over a weekend. It was without doubt reached some time ago and was ready for announcement at some strategically expedient moment. Had the plot to scuttle the Summit succeeded, announcement of the decision to resume the tests would probably have followed the collapse of Summit talks. But the stratagem boomeranged, and the decision for which it had been designed to prepare the way—the plan to resume atomic testings, Summit or no—was forced out in an effort to achieve some sort of propaganda balance.

But already world opinion is mounting against unilateral resumption of tests; against the constant provocation of incidents from the ring of bases around the Soviet Union and China—which is now admitted to have been going on for five years; and for a Summit meeting of results.

It is difficult to perceive any way the U.S. can now regain world confidence other than by going to the

(Continued on Page 2)

THE MAIL BAG

The national disease

BALTIMORE, MD.

Well, then! We say that we are justified in sending spying missions over foreign soil, because of the "excessive secrecy" imputed to the target of our cameras. And we say, too, that it is right to lie—that it is necessary in the interest of "national defense"—and that, for four long years, we have been lying to the world when we denied our planes were flying over Russia. And how many other lies will it be necessary, in the years to come, for us to tell? To what end, then? Not for some narrow national ambition. No, we say we lie for the perpetuation of morality. We lie to guard our dedication to the truth.

We lie like Charles Van Doren, multiplying our inventions and compounding them until the evidence against our lies is overwhelming. To these lies, our representatives at the UN, our State Department and our President have all, at one time or another, been accessory. Dishonesty has come to be a national disease, and we are dying of this sickness, for we are this day one step advanced along the road to death, one giant stride toward the brink of war, and how much longer we can stand upon this crumbling soil no man can say.

I am the correspondent of a magazine published in Paris, and I have occasion to perceive that, from the point of view of Europe, Africa and Asia it would scarcely be accounted a catastrophe if the Americans, conducting quaint experiments with matches in their own back yard, should temporarily be hidden in a cloud of smoke. But there is now no refuge on the earth from which the spectacle can be observed; the play invades the audience. I cannot think the audience—and this includes the silent shamed majority of our own people in America—will sit in silence until the curtain falls.

Thomas B. Buchanan

Who's got wings?

NEW YORK, N.Y.

We say we are the only virtuous ones; and that the Russians are untrustworthy.

The Soviet Union has not used its superiority in the intercontinental ballistic missile to assert its supposed desire to rule the world. Rather, for several years now, it has acted in a foolhardy fashion for a nation which is supposed to be an aggressor and our enemy, by waiting for us to catch up with them.

We use every subterfuge to accuse that nation of being "untrustworthy" which has done everything in its power to ban the nuclear weapon, and despite its lead in this field to offer to junk every nuclear weapon in its stockpile if we would do the same.

We, on the contrary, offer nothing of the sort; and to continue our subterfuge, we consider that the world is stupid enough to believe that we have all this time been sprouting a set of angel wings.

Miriam Stern

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

WASHINGTON, April 27—(AP) — Another manual is troubling the Air Force. This one suggests that the Russians may have hoodwinked the United States into wasting money on useless planes.

Representative Melvin R. Laird, Republican of Wisconsin, quoted from the manual's discussion of "Technological Strategy:"

"It is more than just possible that the Russians led us to believe that they were building a sizable striking force of long-range bombers whereas in reality they were devoting their major effort to the development of intercontinental missiles.

"If this has been Soviet strategy, then billions of dolalrs have been invested in aircraft that will never be used in actual combat."

—**N.Y. Times**, April 28

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Anon, New York City.

Art for who's sake?

NEW YORK, N.Y.

In the April 4 GUARDIAN Robert Joyce stated that abstract painting has not gained a wide audience anywhere in the world. This is undoubtedly true. However, on the other hand, how is realistic art faring these days?

In the March 14 GUARDIAN, Wilfred Burchett reported a debate in the Soviet Union as to whether art has a place in modern life. A majority of the Russian people reached the conclusion that art is a necessary part of their life. What is the opinion of progressives in this country on this subject? Or are they just apathetic about the whole thing?

About a month ago I placed two announcements in the GUARDIAN advertising an exhibition of prints by Leopoldo Mendez, considered by many to be Mexico's foremost graphic artist. The response to the show by GUARDIAN readers was extremely poor.

In any case, I am continuing the show through May (Arkep Gallery, 171 W. 29th St., N.Y.C.), and, as an added incentive, 10% of sales are being donated to the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

John McGhee

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

ON THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY of V-E Day, Secy. of State Acheson departed for London to confer with Britain's Bevin and France's Schuman on maintaining and intensifying the cold war against Russia. The growing problems of how to achieve this included bringing West Germany into the Western alliance; preserving Western colonial empires in Asia; patching up serious differences among the Western allies . . .

The size of the problem did not seem to discourage Acheson. In Paris, his first stop, where he was greeted by anti-war demonstrators, he promised direct financial aid for France's $500,000,000-a-year colonial war against the Viet Nam Republic. In London he urged the West to welcome re-Nazified West Germany into the "family of Western civilization."

After three days' discussion the conference ended with the announcement that it intended to do just that; but how it was to be done, whether or not to rearm Germany—these and other vital questions were left to the experts. The three ministers also announced they intended to halt communism in Southeast Asia and to devote themselves to the "political development" of the peoples of Africa.

—From the National Guardian, May 17, 1950

Our Hero

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Now if Rhee
Becomes a Cuban resident
He'll be U.S. choice
For Cuban President.

L. G.

For a better world

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Air mail orders for my book have already started to come in in response to your review in the GUARDIAN.

I hope very much that **The Key to World Peace and Plenty** can be used in the educational program that we must begin to develop in teaching Americans the ABC of scientific humanism.

Many thanks and best wishes for all your good work.

Elsa Peters Morse

•

MUSKEGON, MICH.

Thanks for reviewing my book **Humanity's Guide to Everlasting Prosperity and Peace.**

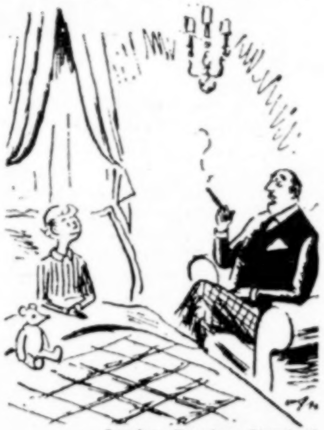
You did not get a clear picture of The Ever-Full Treasury advocated in Chapter VII.

The Ever-Full Treasury will quickly evolve into full socialism because the people will be so pleased with their new taxless prosperity that they will back up their governments (which will no longer be under the thumb of industry) and the government will have plenty of money to buy up industries as it becomes desirable to nationalize them.

The Ever-Full Treasury is the greatest advance in socialist thinking since its beginning.

Enclosed you will find a booklet, **The Ever-Full Treasury**, which is composed of Chapter VII of the book. It will make a good text-book for business men. A bargain at 50c.

E. L. Howard
1716 Elwood St.



London Evening Standard

"Then the three bears sold five thousand International Porridge ordinary at five and a quarter, buying back on the last day of the Account at—"

Hosannas

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

We have been charter GUARDIAN subscribers through campaign after campaign, victory and defeat. We have lived in three cities through this period, and as your files will show, the GUARDIAN always moved with us.

Perhaps it is because we are now living in Los Angeles, the land of the neon light and movie star, that the GUARDIAN has come to mean even more—not only for what it says, but also for how well it says it. Away from New York, where one takes for granted a literateness of writing in the daily papers (O, the difference between the N.Y. and the L.A. **Times**) and cultural air pertaining to things, personalities other than the movies, the high level of writing and editing of "our" paper becomes even more evident.

We are enclosing a check for the Louis E. Burnham Fund. What a terrible year this has been for all of us, losing Abner Green and Louis Burnham. Their work can be best measured by the fact that they are mourned for so hard by the GUARDIAN and its readers.

Eleanor Belser

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AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT

Lie of U. S. policy

(Continued from Page 1)

Summit to negotiate genuinely for a relaxation of tensions, including agreement on cessation of nuclear tests and ending encirclement of the Soviet Union by hostile bases on the territory of so-called "free" nations.

THE PLOT THAT FAILED began, as far as the public is concerned, with a press service announcement from a U.S. air base in Adana, Turkey, on May 3, that one of two planes which had taken off the morning of May 1 for "weather reconnaissance" near the Soviet border had not returned. The pilot of the missing plane had reportedly radioed that his oxygen equipment was out of order. Three C-54 planes were reported combing the area of Lake Van for signs of the missing "weather" plane.

This, as it had turned out, was all palpable camouflage. The "missing" plane, if it took off from Turkey at all, had flown east perhaps 1,500 miles to Peshawar in Pakistan. From there it took off again on a high altitude (65,000 feet or higher) flight across the central Soviet Union, with a destination in Norway, at least 2,500 miles to the northwest.

That the Soviets maintain a constant air watch for such forays is well known. An article reprinted in part in the GUARDIAN in April, 1958, from the semi-official astronautics magazine **Missiles and Rockets**, reported that "U.S. radar and photographic mapping missions over the Soviet land mass continue with a fair degree of success and immunity." The Russian interceptor planes attack, and score some hits, it said, but then added that "so far no attacks have been made by the Russians with missiles, either because they don't have anti-aircraft missiles that are operational or because the Reds don't want to tip their hand."

THAT THE SOVIET DEFENSE would have been particularly alert at the time of the May 1 flight was to be expected, since an earlier probe had been spotted on April 9. Hence it is a not unreasonable surmise that the May 1 flight, with no chance of turning tail back over a friendly border, was calculated to invite attack by interceptor or missile.

If interception failed, the Central Intelligence Agency could chalk up another success for one of its "cover" organizations, in this case the civilian National Aeronautics and Space Administration. If the plane was intercepted, the pilot's $2,500 a month contract included a suicide agreement, and the plane, according to the **Times'** well-informed Baldwin, "certainly had a self-destructive charge, which apparently was not set off."

And the backdrop was already prepared: the press service story of a missing weather plane, its pilot unconscious from lack of oxygen, flying hopelessly to its destruction by "shoot first, question later" Soviet interception forces.

TO SAY THAT OUR PRESIDENT did not "authorize" the spy flight and knew nothing of it is to state a truism: the President can hardly be kept informed on every maneuver of the Central Intelligence Agency or its cover organizations. But he certainly knew what has now been publicly stated—that such CIA spy maneuvers, through the same NASA-Lockheed U-2 project, have been taking place for the last five years from Alaska, Japan, Germany, the Middle East and elsewhere around the periphery of the socialist world.

That a halt should not have been called long ago, at least to create an atmosphere of relaxation for the Geneva and Summit talks, is an indication that the White House lacks either the will or the power to match its peace talk with positive action. And the hasty announcement of the planned resumption of underground nuclear tests ended the possibility of an agreement which would have been the best augury for a successful Summit outcome. Hence it seems to be, as M.P. Konni Zilliacus quickly noted in England, that the Pentagon and the Atomic Energy Commission had won the battle against disarmament agreement at the Summit. All the CIA did, really, was to try to put the blame on somebody else.

IKE'S BEST OUT is to go to the Summit and stay there until some agreement is reached that will sit right with the rest of the world, including the Soviet Union. The alternative is too fearsome to think about.

Now is the time to write to the President and tell him so—and to let your Senators know what you think, too.

—THE GUARDIAN

KONNI ZILLIACUS EXAMINES THE RECORD AND EXPLAINS WHY—

The West can't shirk the blame if Summit fails

By Konni Zilliacus
Labor Member of Parliament
Special to the Guardian

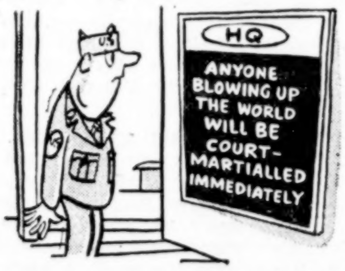
LONDON

AS THE 1960 SUMMIT approaches, its chances of substantial achievement recede. Yet this time Western governments will find it very hard to satisfy their public opinion that they have no responsibility for the failure.

Like the last Summit (July, 1955), it is being held mainly because of Russian insistence and British Tory pre-election promises. To help the Tories win, Eisenhower has both times endorsed these promises without really wanting a Summit or knowing what he would do when he got there.

In 1955, the Stassen-Pentagon row on disarmament allowed him only to make his famous "aerial inspections" proposal which, divorced from concrete disarmament measures, merited Tito's description of it as "legalized espionage." On Germany the West stuck to the "unity through free elections" formula, which in effect meant liquidation of the East German state and that united Germany must be free to enter NATO. To this was added Eden's proposal, which interested the Russians, for a jointly-controlled zone on both sides of the German demarcation line where foreign forces should be "thinned out." Dulles later deliberately wrecked any chance of agreement by changing Eden's proposal into one for a zone on both sides of the German-Polish frontier.

THE STRATEGY: In the 1955 period the West kept disarmament issues in the background and public concern under control by spinning out UN Disarmament Commission talks, shrouding them in secrecy and technicalities, till public opinion passed from confusion to boredom. After the fiasco of the October, 1955, conference, popular pressure had not yet reached danger level when Suez and Hungary renewed the cold war and took the public mind off disarmament. By 1958, public opposition to the burdens and dangers of the endless arms race again reached inconvenient heights. In June of that year Philip Noel-Baker, Labor ex-minister and Nobel Peace Prize winner, summed up in Parliament just what the government had really been up to.

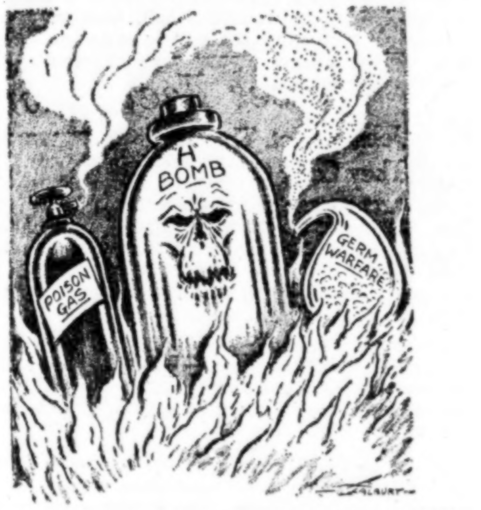

U.S.
HQ
ANYONE BLOWING UP THE WORLD WILL BE COURT-MARTIALLED IMMEDIATELY

Eccles, London Daily Worker

He went back to the Anglo-French memorandum of 1954 stating the objectives which the first disarmament treaty should attain: "Total abolition of all weapons of mass destruction; conversion to peaceful use of all existing nuclear stocks; major reduction of all armed forces and conventional armaments, and a system of control to guarantee effective observance of the treaty. The major reductions in armed forces meant acceptance of the manpower ceilings which the Western governments had proposed—1 or at most 1.5 million men for the U.S., Russia and China; 750,000—later reduced to 650,000—for Britain and France; 1% of the population for the rest. The reductions of conventional armaments were to be proportionate to the manpower cuts."

Noel-Baker recalled how from 1954 to May 10, 1955, the Western governments kept urging the Russians to accept this program; threatened to walk out of the Disarmament Commission if they did not; indignantly denied Russian charges that they were not serious about nuclear disarmament; and, to meet them, announced they "would accept both the cut-off of new production of fissile material and the total abolition of existing nuclear stocks, with the so-called 75% arrangement by which the cut-off was to start when 50%, the abolition of nuclear stocks when 75%, of the reduction of conventional armaments had been made."

WHAT HAPPENED: On May 10, 1955, he went on, the Russians accepted the manpower ceilings and the 75% arrangement. "They said military budgets should be reduced correspondingly to the conventional reduction and nuclear abolition. They went very far in accepting international inspection and control. They proposed 'an international control organ' which should have staff selected on an international basis, permanently resident in every state, having unimpeded access at all times to all objects of control. It was to have 'unimpeded access to records related to budgetary appropriations' and 'have rights and powers to exercise control including inspection on a continuing basis, to the extent necessary to ensure implementation of the above-mentioned evidence by all states.'. . . On top of that the Kremlin proposed as a separate measure to have all the ground control posts at ports, railway junctions, airdromes and highways, to prevent surprise attack."



New York World Telegram and Sun
The Devil's Disciples

Later the Russians also accepted the aerial inspection proposal, provided it was linked with disarmament measures.

What happened after these Russian proposals was then related by Noel-Baker: Immediate three-month suspension by the U.S. of the Disarmament Commission; U.S. repudiation of the 1954 Anglo-French proposals; and, in August, 1957, Western counter-proposals setting a 2.5 million maximum for U.S. and Russian armed forces. Noel-Baker submitted the rest of the Western proposals to devastating analysis and comparison with those of the U.S.S.R.

When the West objected that the Russians wanted nuclear disarmament first, leaving Moscow vastly superior in manpower and conventional arms, Moscow proposed (March, 1956) that "nuclear disarmament be postponed but that first a treaty on conventional disarmament be made." On rejection of this, Moscow came forward in the same month with the full program of the 1954 Anglo-French memorandum. It renewed this proposal in October, 1956, and in March, 1957, added a proposal "six months before they had launched their sputniks and ICBM's, for total abolition of all kinds of missiles . . . by which nuclear warheads could be delivered to an enemy target."

THE DIFFERENCES: The Western package plan of partial measures provided, Noel-Baker pointed out, for twice the minimum armed forces of the Russian plan. On conventional arms the Russians proposed reductions proportionate to manpower cuts (for Russia, 70% or 80%), the West that undefined types and quantities of weapons be stored in depots on each nation's territory. On military budgets, Russia proposed cuts proportionate to manpower and conventional arms reduction, and abolition of mass-destruction weapons; the West proposed no cuts at all but an exchange of undefined budgetary information.

On nuclear weapons the Russians were categoric about controlled abolition of tests followed by total disarmament, the cut-off and abolition of stocks to be effected by the West's own 75% arrangements proposed in 1955; the West's 1957 counter-proposals were vague and ambiguous. The crux of the difference between the two plans was that the Russians insisted the "cut-off" was vital but must be linked with progressive abolition of stocks. The U.S. wanted a scheme by which Russia would stop making nuclear weapons, leaving the U.S. in possession of its vastly greater stocks and storing them in the territory of its 30-odd allies "situated, in Gen. Norstad's phrase, on a perimeter of 360 degrees around the Soviet Union."

Popular pressure and the approach of elections finally led Premier Macmillan to Moscow, where he renewed the Eden proposal for a jointly-controlled zone of limited armaments. Last September Khrushchev proposed universal and complete disarmament in four years; but ten months earlier he had confirmed to Noel-Baker in Moscow that the U.S.S.R. still stood by its specific proposals of May, 1955, and subsequently on both disarmament and control.

DOWN FROM THE FENCE? It becomes clear that Western positions on Germany and disarmament have remained unchanged over the years. But this time the Foreign Ministers have met **before** the Summit, so it will not be possible to disguise or cushion a failure to reach conclusions on Germany and Europe. The three Western governments, unable or unwilling to put effective pressure on their blindly obstinate octogenarian ally Dr. Adenauer, believe they can just sit tight on German unification and the status quo in Berlin.

But in that case there may soon be a separate peace treaty with East Germany. If so, I doubt whether a U.S. Presidential candidate could survive, and I am sure any British government would be swept away which tried to threaten world war rather than accept the accomplished fact. Meanwhile de Gaulle and the Algerian Nationalists between them are making it almost impossible for Britain and the U.S. to sit on the fence much longer, and whichever side they come down on they are in trouble.

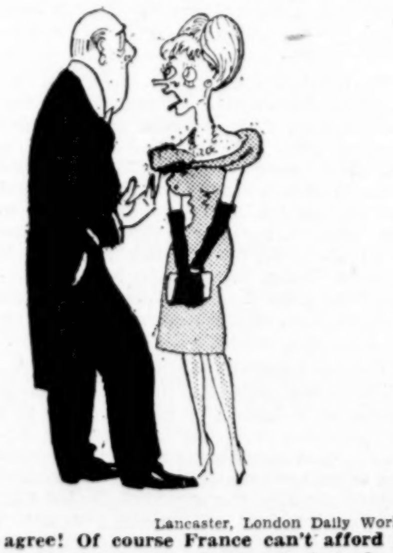
Nor can this Summit leave disarmament in the background, since it must take decisions on the deadlock in the Ten-Power Disarmament Commission and on the endless proceedings of the Nuclear Tests Conference. This time there is no hope of a renewal of the cold war to get the embarrassed Western ministers off the hook.

WARMED-OVER PLAN: In spite of all this, the present Western disarmament plan bears an uncomfortable family resemblance to the humbugging Western counter-proposals of Aug. 29, 1957. It falls woefully short of the Anglo-French plan of 1954. This time the ceiling figure for the U.S. and U.S.S.R. is actually above the existing level of their armed forces, and is not accompanied by any figures for other states. Moreover the first stage of "disarmament," as it is humorously called, is to be accompanied by elaborate provisions for a disarmament control organization with wide powers, and so encounters the Soviet objection that the West is once more trying to establish control without disarmament. Surveying the Ten-Power Commission deadlock, the London **Times** concluded (April 14):

"There is still a wavering hope that the Soviet Union will offer to discuss partial disarmament measures—without strings. [I.e., without insisting that they must be a part of a scheme for total disarmament by stages.] The West may have to wait a long time for this . . . and the Western delegates are obviously worried at the possibility that public opinion may build up against them at home while they are away."

They have every reason to worry. British public opinion, at any rate, is in no mood to stomach a repetition of the Western performance from 1954 to 1958. The momentum of the peace forces in the West is now too great to be halted, still less reversed.

TURNING POINT POSSIBLE: A Summit failure will increase the pressure not only for another, but for policies that will make agreement possible. In Britain that pressure is getting stronger and more radical, the slower the government is to yield to it. In the Labor Party it already takes the form of opposing nuclear weapons for Germany or Germany's inclusion in NATO. It may soon include British renunciation of nuclear weapons. From this it is only a short step to demanding our departure from NATO. That would be part of a policy of taking our stand on the UN Charter in relation to both Russia and the U.S., while refusing to be allied to either against the other.



Lancaster, London Daily Worker
"Oh, I do so agree! Of course France can't afford to develop a really effective nuclear deterrent—but what's really worrying me is, can we?"

The coming Summit may well be a turning-point in post-war history—not by its decisions, which will be minor if any, but by injecting these issues into political controversy and compelling Western governments to reckon with their peoples. It may mark a decisive stage in the progressive collapse of balance-of-power statecraft, and the emergence of a politically effective popular demand for peaceful co-existence policies based on the Charter.

(This article was written before the plane incident in the Soviet Union.)

A VETERAN OBSERVER'S CONCLUSION

America's systematized lunacy

By John Collier

RANCHO de TAOS, N.M.

WE TAKE FOR GRANTED utterances by the military such as the following:

"Groton, Conn., April 27 (AP)—**Vice Admiral Edmund B. Taylor**, who is responsible for keeping track of enemy submarines, labeled Russia a tyranny. He said, without disclosing figures, that Russia's submarine fleet is four times the size of our own submarine force today. (No sources are given). He said, 'The hard-won freedoms of mankind are threatened, threatened by a tyranny which seeks in many and devious ways to enslave the world.' "

What we are slower, or less willing, to take for granted is represented by an article published without apology and without satirical intent by the Academy of Political Science, Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, in **Political Science Quarterly**, December, 1959. The author is Gerhard D. Bleiken, who is vice president and secretary of the John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company, and who is also a prominent figure in the National Academy of Sciences.

Bleiken's theme is what he calls non-military defense as a part of "graduated deterrence which calls for preparation for massive nuclear war." "If we find ourselves in a crisis that is acute, but in which no bomb has yet fallen on American soil, the question arises whether we will have the will to order an all-out attack on the enemy in the face of certain destruction of many million Americans."

BLEIKEN THEN PROCEEDS to "a realistic appraisal of the comparative ability of the Russian and the American populations to survive a nuclear exchange better." He concludes that the Russians, being on a "primitive level," could survive better than the un-primitive Americans. He continues that the Americans must do enormous things, and do them now, in order that some Americans shall survive the oncoming nuclear war which the Americans must be prepared to start first.

Anti-climactically, he mentions bomb shelters, but he continues: "It is necessary to envisage attacks by nuclear weapons combined with biological, chemical and physchological warfare, sabotage, and economic blockade.

"These ideas are accepted at the highest levels in most current Federal planning.

"What we are saying, then, is that America must be hardened so that if nuclear war comes and millions are killed; if millions more are sick and dying of radiation exposure; if the nation is fragmented into islands of survival; . . . if final annihilation is expected momentarily by those who thus far have survived—then the incredibly difficult mission is not only for the military to prosecute the war successfully, but for the civilian survivors to pull the United States together and start the long process of rebuilding it segment by segment into a nation."

BLEIKEN CONCLUDES: "Safety does not lie in abandoning our capacity to wage nuclear war but only in improving it, in making it more real, in making the threat a greater factor in our foreign policy and in the capacity to enforce our national will." And "the obligation to harden America is our obligation today."

Bleiken's article, under the auspices of the Academy of Political Science and edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, expounds with deadly, affirmative earnestness the systematized lunacy in which we are living.

JOHN COLLIER, one of the leading authorities on the American Indian, was U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs throughout the administrations of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Professor emeritus of sociology and anthropology of the City College of New York, he is the author of Indians of the Americas *and other books.*

Summit wreckers

(Continued from Page 1)

press indignation at Soviet attack on the plane—and at the presumed death of the pilot—had died down, Khrushchev dropped a bombshell. On May 7 he told the Supreme Soviet that the pilot was "alive and kicking" and had confessed to undertaking espionage flights over the Soviet Union for the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency headed by Allen W. Dulles. He said Powers had admitted taking off from Peshawar in Pakistan to fly over such "definite points in the U.S.S.R." as Murmansk and Archangel; to photograph "landmarks shown on a map . . . for the collection of information on Soviet guided missiles and radar stations," and then to go on to the airdrome at Bodoe in Norway.

NEEDLES AND BRACELETS: Apprehended as he parachuted to safety at Sverdlovsk, Powers was reported to be carrying a pistol with a silencer, an unsheathed dagger, 7,500 Soviet rubles, some French francs and other foreign currency, two gold watches besides his own, seven women's gold bracelets and a poisoned needle.

Khrushchev showed to members of the Supreme Soviet the photographs of Soviet territory which he said had been developed from Powers' film. He asked if the pilot were carrying bracelets "to Mars to seduce Martian women." He said Powers carried the poisoned needle to prevent his being caught alive if the plane were shot down, but did not use it because "living things want to go on living." He warned that "Turkey, Pakistan and Norway should become aware that they are participants in this hostile act."

WIDE REPERCUSSIONS: After Khrushchev's disclosure, the State Department issued a statement which it said had been cleared with the President. It admitted that the plane had been attempting to gather intelligence "now concealed behind the Iron Curtain," but denied that Washington had authorized the flight. The petulant tone of the statement suggested that the Soviet Union had no right to conceal such intelligence. Nor did it apologize for its earlier fabrication about the plane and its purpose.

The plane incident generated widespread repercussions. James Reston reported (N.Y. **Times**, May 9) that Washington was "caught in a swirl of charges of clumsy administration, bad judgment and bad faith." Many officials were said to be dismayed by the fact that such a flight could be undertaken on the eve of the Summit talks. Rep. Chester Bowles (D-Conn.) called the flight "irresponsible and reckless."

WRECKERS AT WORK: New York **Times** military analyst Hanson Baldwin wondered why the plane had been sent into the Soviet Union on May Day and "just before the Summit conference." Harold Stassen, former disarmament adviser to the President—whose nearly successful disarmament negotiations with Soviet representatives were frustrated in 1958 by the late John Foster Dulles—implied that "some of our military officers" had ordered the flight to dim the prospects of the Summit meeting.

Press reaction abroad was highly critical. Newspapers in Britain, France, Sweden and even West Germany called the flight "irresponsible." The London **Daily Herald** asked in an editorial: "Who wants to wreck the Summit conference before it starts?"

Many allied governments—especially Pakistan and Norway—were visibly upset by the plane incident. Their discomfort was increased by Khrushchev's warning that any nation allowing itself to be used for hostile acts against the U.S.S.R. faced the possibility of retaliation.

British Labor MP Konni Zilliacus (see p. 3) said the plane incident and Eisenhower's announcement resuming nuclear tests revealed the strength of the "sinister" Pentagon and Atomic Energy Commission forces bent on wrecking the Summit talks.

TELLER VS. BETHE: Opponents of a nuclear test ban agreement, led by Dr. Edward Teller, gathered in force last month before the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee to prove that currently known inspection systems could not detect all underground tests. Committee members savagely abused Dr. Hans Bethe, distinguished nuclear physicist and member of the President's Science Advisory Committee, for writing a letter to the New York **Times** praising Soviet proposals for a moratorium on underground tests pending more effective detecting systems. They refused to let him testify on anything but the technical difficulties in detecting underground tests.

Later, in a speech before the Philosophical Society, Dr. Bethe lashed out at Dr. Teller for obstructing test ban negotiations by bringing up "silly" technical objections on the ground that an agreement must wait on devising a foolproof inspection system. He noted that undetected underground tests would be of little military value and urged a test ban agreement on the ground that it would lead to other agreements to limit arms. He noted that Washington had turned down Moscow's proposal to stop testing in 1956, when the U.S. was ahead. He expressed the hope that the U.S. would make the political decision to take a certain amount of risk this time to prevent the further spread of nuclear arms.

SUPPORT FOR BETHE: Dr. Bethe's position was supported by the Argonne National Laboratory physicist Dr. David Inglis and by the Federation of American Scientists. Dr. Inglis (**The New Republic**, April 25) urged an agreement permanently banning all tests above the "20 kiloton limit," while agreeing to a partially-monitored moratorium on smaller tests as joint research proceeds to improve detection systems.

At Geneva on May 3 the Soviet delegation made a further concession to the U.S. by agreeing to a test ban and a moratorium on underground tests while U.S., Soviet and British scientists jointly carried out experimental underground explosions. The Soviet proposal for East-West scientists to gather at Geneva on May 11 to work out plans for the experimental explosions was considered a step forward by the U.S. delegation.

DR. HANS A. BETHE
An end to nonsense

PEACEFUL BUT MILITARY: Yet, even as the issue was being negotiated, the President announced U.S. unilateral resumption of underground nuclear tests. Although the announcement said that the tests would be peaceful, Presidential Secy. Hagerty conceded they would have "military implications" (N. Y. **Herald Tribune**, May 8).

The disarmament issue remained deadlocked over (1) U.S. insistence on setting up a control system before any agreement to disarm and to set no time limit on armaments reduction, and (2) Soviet insistence on control systems running parallel to each disarmament step and a time limit as a prod to progress. The ten-nation disarmament committee agreed to adjourn until June 7 hoping for guidance from the Summit meeting.

ON WEST BERLIN: Secy. of State Herter and Under Secy. Dillon increased pre-Summit tension by lining up with Bonn's Chancellor Adenauer on the issue of West Berlin. Herter on April 4 and Dillon in a speech before the AFL-CIO on April 20 disapproved any change in the city's status.

The Soviet Union has proposed transforming West Berlin into a demilitarized free city under UN supervision. **Pravda** on April 14 expressed confidence that the Summit meeting would result in at least a "partial and temporary" agreement on Berlin. The East German Government on April 17 proposed an interim agreement which would allow Western forces to remain in Berlin for the time being but which called for a "gradual reduction of military forces and a step-by-step abolition of the Occupation status."

After the Eisenhower - Khrushchev Camp David talks, the impression prevailed that the President had agreed with the Soviet Premier on the "abnormal status" of West Berlin. It was understood that Eisenhower had come to believe with British Prime Minister Macmillan that the West's "extremely vulnerable" position on Berlin should be discussed at the Summit.

Columnist Walter Lippmann said (May 3) that "because its position is strategically, economically and juridically weak, I believe that the West ought to work for a new [West Berlin] statute." But the Herter-Dillon statements indicated otherwise.

A FRIVOLOUS ATTITUDE: What exasperated not only Moscow but Britain as well was Eisenhower's insistence on leaving for fascist Portugal on May 22 and suggesting Vice President Nixon as his substitute at the Summit meeting, regardless of how the meeting was going. This was received abroad as a frivolous attitude toward a momentous meeting.

All over the world people are looking to the Summit conference for even minimum evidence of relaxation of East-West tension, for a respite from nuclear radiation, for a pullback from such areas of friction as West Berlin—so that they can proceed with the fight against mankind's chief enemies: remnants of colonialism, hunger, disease and poverty.

If they are disillusioned again, especially after the events of the last weeks, they will look to Washington for the causes.

They were really jumping at the 'Times' Saturday night

ALL THIS is worth bearing in mind as we ponder the situation created by the latest Khrushchev outburst yesterday with regard to the American plane he says was shot down over his country. The facts about the plane have been stated quite differently in Washington and Moscow and no doubt will be a matter of continued discussion and argument for some time to come. But whatever the facts . . .

—City Edition editorial
in the N.Y. **Times**, May 8

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ALL THIS is worth bearing in mind as we ponder the latest situation created by the latest Khrushchev outburst yesterday with regard to the American plane he says was shot down over his country. These charges are in part admitted by official statements released in Washington yesterday. The full story remains to be told. But whatever the facts . . .

—Late City Edition editorial
in the N.Y. **Times**, May 8

W. GERMANY: OUR 2ND BIGGEST CREDITOR

Why our bases in Germany threaten the U. S. economy

By Ed Sears

WEST GERMANY TODAY, just 15 years after V-E Day, has emerged as the second largest creditor of the United States. As a result, West German bankers and financiers are in a position to exert strong economic pressure against this country.

Americans owe West German banks and financial institutions $1.7 billion, which is more than 10% of the total dollar claims all foreign countries have against the U.S. Only one other country, Canada, has larger claims.

If these claims continue to grow, they could conceivably place the Nazi-infested West German government in a position in which it could dictate the domestic and foreign economic policies of the U.S.

This is a remarkable turn of events. In less than a generation a defeated, prostrate nation has maneuvered itself into a position in which it represents a serious potential threat to one of its powerful conquerors.

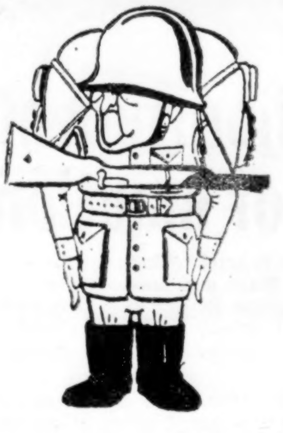
EXPORTS VS. IMPORTS: One nation normally becomes a creditor of another nation by exporting to it more than she imports from it. If, for instance, Germany persistently sells to the U.S. more merchandise than she buys here, then she automatically becomes a creditor of this country.

The opposite has happened, however. Since the end of World War II, Germany exported to the U.S. $4 billion of merchandise and imported $8 billion. With the exception of 1959, Germany imported from the U.S. more merchandise than she exported to it in every single postwar year and ran up a postwar trade deficit of $4 billion with the U.S. Under ordinary circumstances she should today be a debtor, rather than a creditor, of the U.S.

HOW IT HAPPENED: The Cold War alone is responsible for this economic "miracle."

West Germany is a creditor of the U.S. because she sells this country a special Cold War product—military bases. These bases are her second most important source of dollars. They provide her with a dollar income almost equal to her income from her ordinary merchandise exports. Their importance to her economy has steadily increased since she officially joined the Cold War by becoming a member of NATO in May, 1952.

Since 1953, her first full year of membership in NATO, West Germany earned $3.6 billion from her ordinary merchandise exports to this country and approximately $2.9 billion from U.S. bases. Had Germany not received this income she would have gone into debt to the U.S. to the tune of $1.1 billion during this period, because her imports from the U.S. came to $4.7 billion, which is $1.1 billion greater than her normal exports. But, far from going into debt, she managed to buy $400 million of gold from the U.S. and to increase her dollar claims against this country by $1.1 billion during this period. The $2.9 billion from the Cold War bases enabled her to turn a depressing deficit into a glittering surplus.



London Daily Worker

The Herr Doktor

U.S. AS EMPLOYER: Since Germany's entry into NATO, her income from U.S. bases has tripled, jumping from $239,000,000 in 1953 to $700,000,000 in 1959. Germany today is the largest recipient of all U.S. "defense expenditures" abroad, receiving one-fifth of all these outlays.

As a result of this massive concentration of bases in Germany, the U.S. Dept. of Defense is West Germany's fifth largest employer. Only such industrial giants as Krupp and Gelsenkirchener Bergswerke-AG, steel manufacturers, and Siemens and Allegemeine Electricitats-Gesellschaft (AEG), electrical equipment manufacturers, have more employes than the 82,000 Germans who work for the Dept. of Defense.

Chancellor Adenauer needs the income from the Cold War bases to strengthen further Germany's financial position. When the West Germans achieve their "position of strength" they will be able to move with full force against their principal economic rivals, their present "allies." The current bitter dispute between the Common Market countries, of which Germany is the chief member, and the Free Trade Association countries, of which England is the leader, gives some inkling of the intensity of this rivalry.

TIME TO ACT: The Cold War policies of the U.S. are chiefly responsible for Germany's present economic strength. By enabling the Germans to accumulate dollars, these policies have provided them with weapons to wage economic warfare against other countries, including the U.S.

The elimination of the Cold War bases in Germany, therefore, will not only remove a potential source of war but a very real threat to the American economy in general and to American capitalism in particular. It will also knock the financial props from under the militarists who rule Germany today, enabling the democratic elements to build a new, peaceful country.

Today, 15 years after the defeat of Nazi Germany, is clearly an appropriate time for the U.S. to take steps in this direction.

THE THORNDIKES HAVE ONE AIM:

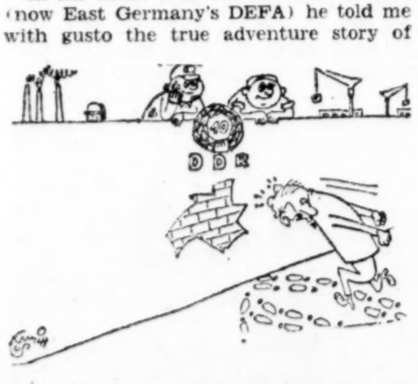
No 'Operation Teutonic Sword' again

By Edith Anderson
Special to the Guardian

BERLIN

ANDREW THORNDIKE, the East German who with his wife Annelie made the sensational anti-Nazi film **Operation Teutonic Sword** and other political documentaries, is the great-great-grandson of an American pirate who in 1830 possessed the largest fortune in New England; the great-grandson of a Sumatran plantation owner and slaveholder, and the son of a powerful Nazi who made his money as Krupp's right hand. He also has one congenial relative—Dame Sybil Thorndike, the English actress.

In his home near the old UFA studios (now East Germany's DEFA) he told me with gusto the true adventure story of how he came to be where he is today. In our time an improbable Alexandre Dumas tale like his could only have happened here.



"Dr. Adenauer, should we West German editors say that East Germany hasn't existed ever, or hasn't existed just for the ten years since it began?"

THE BEGINNINGS: Now a man of 50, tall, blond and ruddy, with the aquiline nose and blue hawk eyes often found among scions of the North German upper class, Thorndike started his career as sales manager of the UFA when in his twenties.

Bored with easy success, he was playing with the idea of making films himself at a quarter of the salary he was then earning, when the Nazis launched World War II and he decided to dodge the draft fast by wangling himself a job doing army documentaries. There was no principle about it—he was neither pro- nor anti-Nazi: he simply saw no advantage in going out and getting killed.

Unfortunately his boss, who had fixed the rich boy's way out, was so corrupt that it annoyed even the Nazis; they arrested him and started an investigation of his odorous doings. Thorndike was clapped into jail for draft-dodging and greeted with a routine beating. That was where his political education began.

t was a jail where Communists and Jews were brought to be tortured for "confessions." The man who had just been making a documentary on U-boat production heard the wives of his prison mates screaming on the floor below as they were tortured to soften up their husbands.

THE FIRST LESSON: Thanks probably to family influence, he was released to the army in a parole detachment where he got diphtheria immediately. In the hospital he lay next to a non-com who dared to reveal that he was a Communist and gave the film-maker his first lesson in Marxism. He diagrammed the theory of surplus value on the back of a cigarette package.

In 1944, on being discharged from the hospital, Thorndike was offered a choice between the Western front as an infantryman or the Eastern front as a medic. He grabbed the Eastern front, generally regarded as suicide, because medics don't shoot, and if he became a stretcher-bearer he could easily desert to the Russians. He never got a chance. His superior officer, a doctor harassed by his inability to explain the reverses of the war to his wife, kept Thorndike busy creating and typing soothing letters to her.

But when the war ended Thorndike was one of 18,000 prisoners-of-war captured on the Hungarian front, and one of 12 who volunteered to work for the Russians in his own profession. He was brought to a camp near Moscow that was equipped with a library, and there he completed his political education. In 1948, when he was released, it seemed natural that he chose to live in East Germany, where he at once started making documentary films.

AT AUNT ANNA'S: In 1952 he was kidnaped by the West German "Office for the Protection of the Constitution" (like the FBI) after having received the East German National Prize for a film that was embarrassing to West German Chancellor Adenauer. He had married Annelie just a week before he got a telegram purportedly from his sister Ilse, asking him to meet her at their Aunt Anna's apartment in West Berlin to discuss a family problem. Ten seconds after he arrived in his astonished relative's home (there was of course no Ilse) the bell rang and he was arrested by four cops, who searched the apartment.

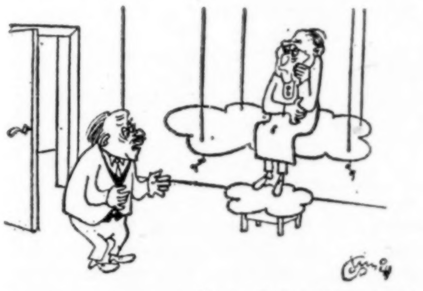
Aunt Anna, an ancient reactionary, undertook the journey—terrifying to her—to East Berlin to tell Annelie the news.

For a long time no one could ascertain Thorndike's whereabouts. He was smuggled to a crummy station-house cell in West Berlin and thence to solitary confinement in Karlsruhe for three months. International protests and a capable lawyer compelled his release; there had been no charge and no hearing.

SPEIDEL IS ANGRY: Last year, when Plato Films, a small English distributor, announced the showing of **Operation Teutonic Sword** in London, Nazi Gen. Speidel, now NATO commander of European forces, sued the company for libel and got an injunction preventing it from showing those parts of the film which exposed him. They were the best parts. Yet even what remained was such an eye-opener to the British public that the reverberations have never died down.

Meanwhile, the Thorndikes have started a counter-suit against Speidel, also for libel, since he claims that their film is not based on fact. They have briefcases stuffed with documents proving Speidel was heavily involved in the Nazi assassination of French Foreign Minister Barthou and King Alexander of Yugoslavia; in the betrayal of Gen. Rommel's enmity to Hitler, and in the cruel occupation of France. The film has not a single item of fiction. Neither of the suits has ended.

THE DISTAFF SIDE: Annelie has a typical, plain German peasant face. When she talks she gives you the facts straight, and her eyes light up with mischievous intelligence. She was only 20 when the war ended, living in Mecklenburg where the Soviet troops made everyone without an occupation go out and sweep the streets. Annelie hid but was soon caught. She told the Soviet commandant that she was a trained teacher and thought she should reopen the school instead of sweeping streets. "Good," he said. "Do it."



Neues Deutschland, Berlin

"The Chancellor is sure that there ain't no German Democratic Republic!"

There she taught the same Nazi drivel that she herself had learned until one day a Soviet cultural officer sat in on a lesson she was giving about the French revolution. "You are to be congratulated on having such a gifted teacher," he told the class, and whispered to her, "Would you step outside for a moment?" He told her she knew nothing whatever, and she was sent to a new pedagogical school in Schwerin.

A SOVIET PROJECT: Andrew met her when he was doing a film on the first five years of the Soviet occupation, called **The Way Up**, and was looking over the model school of which she was now principal. When he was kidnaped she was asked by DEFA to go on with a film about the Soviet Union which he had begun, because she was the only person who knew what he had in mind. That was how she became his collaborator, and this is the film they are now about to start shooting in a six-month tour of the Soviet Union.

"Why should Germans do a documentary about the Soviet Union?" I asked.

"We have a theory," Andrew said, "as to why the people in West Germany have allowed the Nazis to climb back into power. It is fear of communism. We want to explain the Soviet Union to them from a German standpoint, one which we think they will understand. Our one aim is to prevent Germany from starting another war. It is the motive behind all the documentaries we have made."

EACH PARTY BLAMES THE OTHER

Congress nears adjournment with a new record of inaction

By Russ Nixon
Guardian staff correspondent

WASHINGTON

A BARREN AND BALKY Congress is pushing towards an early adjournment in July before the Democratic convention in Los Angeles on July 11 and the Republican convention in Chicago on July 25. In its first four months, the 1960 Congress passed only the sham Civil Rights Act. In the last two months, little more than housekeeping legislation approving the President's $80 billion budget is to be expected.

As adjournment nears, each party is maneuvering to blame the other to Congressional inaction. The AFL-CIO executive council on May 3 said Congress so far has "a record of failure" and that "the roll-call of positive legislative measures still unresolved by this Congress and desperately needed by America is long."

From Fort Benning, Ga., where he was watching a weapons display, President Eisenhower on May 3 sent a message to Congress asking it to act, without electioneering, on his legislative recommendations. There was nothing new in the message except his mention of the administration's proposal of a substitute for the Forand bill to help "older people truly in need to meet the calamity of catastrophic illness."

DOUBLE STANDARD: The President appealed for approval without reduction of his request of $4,175,000,000 for foreign aid, two-thirds to go for military purposes, and then emphasized "the need of restraint in new authorizations for Federal spending" on domestic matters.

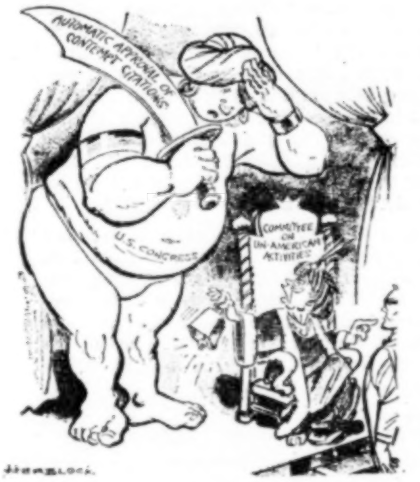
Senate majority leader Lyndon B. Johnson charged the President with having a "double standard" on foreign and domestic spending and said he resented the admonition about "electioneering." House Speaker Sam Rayburn followed the same line and dismissed the President's communication as "not a message, but a Republican platform political speech."

The Senate on May 6 approved and sent to the White House for certain veto a $251,000,000 bill to aid areas suffering chronic economic distress. The measure is a good example of what is happening to social legislation caught in the current squeeze between a formally Democratic Congress which is actually dominated by a Dixiecrat-Republican coalition, and the Republican administration.

Early in 1959 the Senate passed a bill providing $389,000,000 in Federal funds for grants and loans to help the economic recovery of distressed areas. The President had proposed a limited "Area Redevelopment Bill" with only $53,000,000 in Federal aid. The House Banking and Currency Committee trimmed the Senate bill down $138,000,000. This compromised version was then stalled by the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition in the House Rules Committee until May 4, when a rare parliamentary procedure brought it to the floor.

CAN'T BEAT A VETO: The House approved the bill, 201 to 184. The Senate accepted the House version, 45 to 32. These votes, with a coalition of most Southern Democrats and Republicans in opposition, indicate that the necessary two-thirds vote will be lacking to override the inevitable veto. The Democrats, ignoring the Dixiecrat opposition, will blame the Republicans, and the Republicans will say that their "practical" aid plan was killed by Democratic "wild spending" proposals. The jobless workers in the mine areas of West Virginia and Pennsylvania and in the textile ghost towns of Massachusetts will continue to suffer without any Federal program of assistance.

Similarly, there is frantic maneuvering around the issue of medical care to the aged, with both parties seeking political advantage. Whether any actual legislation will be enacted remains to be seen. The House Ways and Means Committee, which killed the Forand Bill (HR 4700) on March 31, is busy in executive sessions considering alternatives and compromises.


AUTOMATIC APPROVAL OF CONTEMPT CITATIONS
U.S. CONGRESS
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HERBLOCK

Herblock, Washington Post

"Yes, master. Whom do you wish me to strike down?"

FIVE PLANS: With the new administration proposal presented to the Ways and Means Committee on May 4 by Health, Education and Welfare Secy. Arthur S. Flemming, and a new bill introduced by Sen. Pat McNamara (D-Mich.), there are now five separate plans pending for medical care to the aged:

- The original Forand bill, which would pay for doctors, hospital, and nursing home care for old-age pensioners as a regular part of the Social Security system, to be paid for by an increased social security payroll tax of one-fourth of one percent for employer and employe. Rep. Forand is seeking 218 signatures on a discharge petition to force House action on his bill.
- A compromise of the Forand bill covering only hospital and nursing home expenses, and limiting eligibility to pensioners over 72 years of age who have already privately paid certain medical expenses. The details are being worked out in the Ways and Means Committee.
- The Javits-Keating-Lindsay bill (S-3350 and HR-11676) to set up a complex Federal-state program of public subsidies to private insurance companies for old-age medical care on a voluntary basis.
- The bill introduced on May 6 by Sen. McNamara and 15 Democratic cosponsors combining the Forand Bill principle of care to old-age social security pensioners with a program of health protection for those aged not on the social security rolls, to be financed from general Treasury revenues. Coverage would not include expenses for doctors.
- The administration's "Medicare Program for the Aged" calling for Federal and state subsidies costing $1,200,000,000 a year for old-age health insurance systems to be set up by the States.

WHAT IT WOULD DO: The major provisions of the belated "Medicare" plan are:

- All persons over 65 can participate if their income after exemptions for taxes is not over $2,500 for an individual or $3,800 for a couple.
- Aged on relief get free protection. Others pay $24 a year and must pay the initial medical expenses of $250 a year, or $400 for a married couple.
- The plan will pay 80% of further medical costs, or 100% for aged on relief.
- A broad range of medical services are covered, including 180 days of hospital care, a full year of home care, X-rays, surgery, physicians, dental care, $350 of drug, and private nurses.
- Eligible persons can choose private insurance instead of "Medicare," and the government would pay $30 of the annual insurance cost.
- States would run the plan under terms approved by the Federal Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare.
- The $1,200,000,000 cost would be divided 50-50 between the Federal and state governments, with state costs varying according to each state's ability to pay.

THE REACTION: The "Medicare" plan was greeted with sharp criticism and hesitant support. The AFL-CIO executive council charged that it "has evidently been shaped to meet the political demands of an election year rather than the urgent needs of the aged." Sen. McNamara said it was "full of glaring defects." The American Medical Assn. denounced it as being "based on the false premise that almost all persons over 65 need health care and cannot afford it." Sen. Barry Goldwater ((R-Ariz.) called it "socialized medicine . . . part of a dime store New Deal." Democratic members of the House Ways and Means Committee who oppose the Forand bill said that "Medicare" was "more radical than the Forand bill," and Rep. Burr Harrison (D-Va.) said "this Townsend Plan-Rube Goldberg scheme is more socialistic" than any Democratic proposal.

After some hesitation and public confusion, Vice President Nixon authorized Secy. Flemming to announce that the Vice President supported the administration plan.

PRINCIPLES ACCEPTED: Many observers stressed the political nature of the administration proposal. The New York **Times** (May 5) reported that some Republicans privately valued "Medicare" simply because it "will at least help Republicans shield themselves against the heavy political pressures generated by the health-insurance question."

Whatever the politics involved and regardless of Congressional action this year, medical care for the aged is now established as a major public issue which cannot be pushed aside. The following significant points are noted by social security experts:

- There is virtually complete political and governmental agreement on the urgent need for substantial aid to the aged to meet their medical expenses.
- A very broad scale of medical protections has been projected, especially by the administration program, which creates the basis for **complete** health insurance for the aged.
- The use of the general funds of the Treasury for health care has been seriously proposed by both Republicans and Democrats as an alterantive or a supplement to the social security tax method of financing. The introduction of this principle, which is the financing basis of the British National Health Service, has significant implications.

OLD FOLKS VOTE: While the Ways and Means Committee is considering medical care for the aged, it is also acting on more than 350 bills to improve the social security system. As it has done every election year since 1950, Congress is expected to make some limited improvements which will be almost unanimously agreed to and which will be used in the election by every member of Congress as evidence of friendship for the "old folks."

Other pending social legislation of limited content may be passed—to face a possible veto which cannot be overridden. On Feb. 4 the Senate passed a Federal Aid to Education bill (S-8) providing $900,000,000 a year for two years for school construction and teachers salaries. The House Education and Labor Committee on March 16 cut this down to $325,000,000 a year for three years limited to school construction. This compromise version is still blocked in the House Rules Committee. If eventually passed, a veto is almost certain.

Even though this is an election year and Congress has only two more months to go, there is a curious lethargy and general sense of frustration among its members. It seems likely that neither party will boast about the 86th Congress, but will blame each other for its failures.

William Heikkila dies at 54

WILLIAM HEIKKILA, whose deportation stirred an international protest two years ago, died of a heart attack at his home in San Francisco on May 7. He was 54 years old.

Heikkila's case came to international attention after he was picked up on a San Francisco street on April 18, 1958, hustled into a car, taken to the airport and flown as sole passenger in a 65-passenger Immigration Service plane to Canada and there transferred to another plane for Finland. He was not permitted to call his wife or lawyer and he was booked into a Canadian jail under a false name while changing planes.

Public outcry resulted in Heikkila's return in five days. Federal Judge Edward P. Murphy said at the time: "I think the method adopted here smacks of the Gestapo, rack and thumb screw and I don't approve of it."

Heikkila was born in Finland in 1906 and came to the United States before he was three months old. His Finnish-born parents had been living in the United States but returned to the old country for a visit. Heikkila was born during that visit. The family returned here as soon as the infant was old enough to travel.

TO HELP MANKIND: Heikkila joined the Communist Party in Minnesota in 1929 but when he moved to San Francisco ten years later, he let his membership lapse.

In 1947 the government began steps to deport him; he had never become a citizen. All his legal resources seemed expended when the Supreme Court ruled in the Rowoldt case in December, 1957, that persons could not be deported for long-past CP membership. A Federal court was scheduled to re-hear Heikkila's case based on the Rowoldt decision when the Immigration Service whisked him off to Finland.

New deportation moves were made against Heikkila on his return. Last November 30 the Board of Immigration Appeals issued a new deportation order. Heikkila's lawyer filed an appeal, which was pending at the time of his death.

On his return from Finland Heikkila said: "I am proud of what I have done in the past. I am neither pro-Communist nor anti-Communist. My ideas are my own. If people don't like what I have done, I can't help it. All I want to do is help mankind."

WILLIAM HEIKKILA

THE GUARDIAN'S SALUTE TO SUMMER—

1960 travel, resort and vacation report

Ode to fun

FRIEND, do you yearn for coot and hern, far from your teeming alley?
Read on, then, friend, and you shall learn the pleasures of Spring Valley,
Or what's to do at Lamb's Laclu, or up on Shadowood's ridges,
And of the joys of Allaben, likewise of Goldens Bridges.
Don't stagnate in your status quo, beside Life's turgid River,
For men may come and men may go, but fun goes on forever!
A trout stream serenades Ellenville, in little sharps and trebles,
And dainty maids at Plattekill, go wading 'mongst the pebbles.
The road to Liberty's begirt with many a field and fallow,
And youth at Livingston Manor flirt, mid willow weed and mallow.
World Fellowship's trail is clearly traced, from here to Chocorua,
Also to Josephine Timms' place, as well as Wanaque.

For rustic life try Meyer's Farm, Pinecrest or Pawling Manor,
Twin Lakes would do the kids no harm, nor Calumet nor Canada.
Togetherness can be your dish at Accord or Hopewell Junction;
Pause at Wallkill, have a knish, or cha-cha to Kerhonkson.

All year long you hoe that row, in Miltown-by-the-river,
Now take off and go in your Peugeot, or in the family flivver.

From Tennyson's "Brook" our Ode to Fun has borrowed its bosky flavor. Sincere regrets to Lord Tennyson that we can't return the favor!

How to get there...

I—NEW YORK

CAMP CALUMET (and Wingdale-On-The-Lake), Wingdale, N.Y. — West Side Highway, Major Deegan or New York Thruway to Hawthorne Circle, then Saw Mill River Extension to Route 22 and Route 55. On Route 55, follow signs to camp. By train: two hours from Grand Central station; Buses meet all trains. Five minutes to camp.

CHAITS, Accord, N.Y.—Take New York Thruway to Exit 18. Turn left on Route 299 to Route 55, then right, and right again at 209. Proceed four miles and turn left at first Chaits sign, and right at next Chaits sign. By bus: Shortline, directly to Accord from Port Authority Terminal, (phone LO 4-8484). Call the camp at Kerhonkson 3758 from the bus stop at Accord. Chaits is 2½ hours by car from New York City, 3½ hours by bus.

PAWLING HEALTH MANOR, Hyde Park, N.Y.—Take the West Side Highway to Saw Mill River and Hawthorne Circle; two-thirds of the way around pick up Taconic Parkway, turn right on Route 55 to Poughkeepsie and Route 9 to Hyde Park. Six miles beyond overhead light, on Route 9, look for Manor sign at the beginning of the four-lane highway. By train: New York Central from Grand Central Station; get off at Rhinecliff and take cab or telephone TU 9-2121.

HILLBERG FARM, Kerhonkson, N.Y. —By car, take the Thruway to Exit 18 and Route 299 to Kerhonkson. Turn right on Route 209 for 1¼ miles, left at top of hill, one mile to Richfield gas station, then left two miles to Hillberg Farm. By bus: Shortline to Kerhonkson, and call camp, 8008W.

TWIN LAKES COLONY, Otisville, N.Y. —Take Thruway to Harriman (Exit 16), left on Route 17 to Middletown (Route 84), and left on 84 to Route 211 and Otisville.

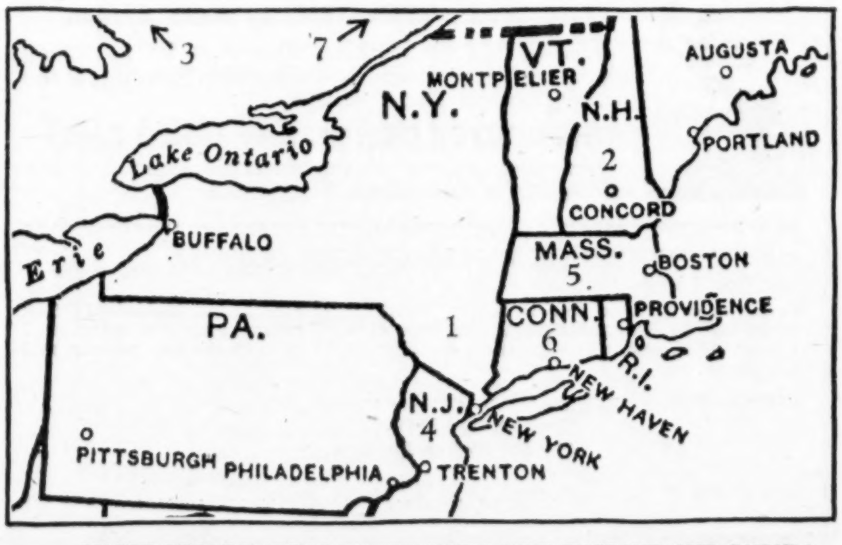
CAMP KINDERLAND and Camp Lakeland, Hopewell Junction, N.Y. — Take West Side and Henry Hudson Parkway to Saw Mill River Parkway. At Hawthorne Circle take Taconic Parkway to Exit D6. (Beekman Road). Turn right and proceed to camp. By train: New York Central to Pawling, N.Y., and Sheridan bus to camp.

MEYERS FARM, Clinton Corners, N.Y.—Take West Side and Henry Hudson Parkways to Saw Mill River and Hawthorne Circle. Take Taconic Parkway and make left turn at Exit D18 (Pumpkin Lane) to Clinton Corners. (Tel: Colfax 6-3481).

ARROWHEAD LODGE, Ellenville, N.Y.—New York Thruway to Exit 16 (Harriman Exit). Take Route 17 to Wurtsboro, make right turn to 209, and drive to one mile short of Ellenville. Tel: Ellenville 502).

HALPERN'S BUNGALOW COLONY, Kerhonkson, N.Y.—Take New York Thruway to New Paltz (Exit 18), turn left on Route 299 to Route 55, and turn right nine miles to Halpern's.

MAPLE VILLA Bungalow Colony, Plattekill, N.Y.—New York Thruway to Newburgh, exit bearing right to Plattekill and nine miles to signs. Alternate route: George Washington Bridge and Routes 4, 17 and 32 to Plattekill and signs. By bus: Trailway bus from Dixie Bus Depot, 241 W. 42nd St. to Ireland Corners, and taxi to Maple Villa. 1¼ hours from New York City.



MAJOR RESORT AREAS IN NEW YORK, NEW ENGLAND AND CANADA
All of the progressive camps and resorts listed in this issue. (1) *New York Area.* (2) *New Hampshire.* (3) *Ontario, Canada.* (4) *Northern New Jersey.* (5) *Massachusetts.* (6) *Connecticut.* (7) *Quebec, Canada.*

SPRING MOUNTAIN HOUSE, Jeffersonville, N.Y.—From George Washington Bridge follow Route 4 to 17, to Liberty. (Or New York Thruway to Exit 16 to Harriman, then to Liberty.) From Liberty turn left on Route 52 to Jeffersonville and one mile along North Branch Road. (Short Line buses daily to Liberty).

THE CRANES, Kerhonkson, N. Y.—Cross George Washington Bridge and take 9W and 32 to Modena and Kerhonkson. Bear left on 209 at sign.

BRIEHL'S FARM, Wallkill, N. Y. — Southern part of Ulster County, 20 miles west of Newburgh, N.Y.

HOTEL CAPITOL, Livingston Manor, N.Y.—George Washington to Palisades Interstate Parkway at bridge exit. Follow to New York Thruway, take Thruway to Exit 16, and New York 17 directly to Livingston Manor.

CAMP SHOMRIA, Liberty, N.Y.—New York Thruway to Route 17 (or the George Washington Bridge to Route 4) and north to Liberty. Left on 52 toward White Sulphur Springs, for two miles. Shomria is on side road to left, just past Sunnycrest Inn. By bus: Short Line or Inter City Line to Liberty, then taxi (about $2) to Shomria.

GOLDENS BRIDGE COLONY, Goldens Bridge, N.Y.—Take Saw Mill River Parkway to Goldens Bridge, then turn right on Route 138 to Colony entrance on right. By train: N.Y. Central Railroad.

WINGDALE ON-THE-LAKE, WINGDALE, N.Y.—See instructions for driving to Camp Calumet.

2—NEW HAMPSHIRE

TIMMS LODGE, Wentworth, N.H.—Merritt Parkway to Wilbur Cross as far as Hamden, Conn. At Whitney Ave. cut-off take Route 10 to Northampton, Mass., and Route 5 to Fairlee, Vt. Cross bridge to New Hampshire side and follow 25A to Wentworth. Inquire at Texaco station for directions. Three hundred miles and eight hours driving time from New York City.

WORLD FELLOWSHIP CENTER, Chocorua, N.H.—Hutchinson River Parkway to Merritt and Wilbur Cross Parkways, leading directly to the Massachusetts Turnpike. Turn east, then north on Massachusetts 128 to U.S. 1 to the New Hampshire state line. Then take the toll road, Spaulding Turnpike and Highway 16 to the World Fellowship entrance, four miles north of Chocorua. Alternate route: Connecticut Turnpike to the Massachusetts Turnpike.

3—ONTARIO, CANADA

LAMB'S CAMP, Laclu, Ontario, Canada—Enter through International Falls, Minnesota.

4—NEW JERSEY

ALLABEN HOTEL, Lakewood, N.J.—New Jersey Turnpike to Exit 11. Follow U.S. 9 to Garden State Parkway, and Garden State to Exit 91. Take County Road (549) to intersection of New Jersey 88 and follow to Lakewood.

CAMP MIDVALE, Wanaque, N.J.—From George Washington Bridge: Take Route 46; From Lincoln Tunnel: Route 3 to 46; Holland Tunnel: Route 1 north to 3, to 46. Once on 46: Follow to 23, then right to 202. Take 202 north to Hamburg Turnpike and through Pompton Lakes to traffic light at north end of town. Turn right on 511 and north 4 miles to Skyline Lakes development. Fifty yards beyond, just before bridge over railroad, turn left on Westbrook Road which crosses reservoir. At third fork turn left up Snake Den Road to Camp Midvale.

5—MASSACHUSETTS

SHADOWOOD INN, Lenox, Mass.—Various routes to Lenox. Inn is on Hawthorne St.

6—CONNECTICUT

PINECREST, West Cornwall, Conn.—West Side Highway to Hawthorne Circle, and Saw Mill Parkway to end, where it joins Route 22. Take 22 north to Route 55 at Wingdale, and right on 55 to Route 7 at Gaylordsville (Conn.). Turn left and stay on Route 7 to West Cornwall and Pinecrest, three miles north of West Cornwall. (90 miles from N.Y.C.).

7—QUEBEC, CANADA

CAMP LAFOND, QUEBEC, CANADA—In the Laurentians, about 50 miles from Montreal.

TOURISTS, CAMPERS OR STAY-AT-HOMES, HERE ARE—

Ideas for summer vacations

EACH YEAR about this time most Americans begin to wonder how to spend their summer vacations. The respite from the daily routine gives a special urgency to summer plans, and the family discussions are long and profound. Those who have their own country homes have no problem, but the remainder must decide between a cottage, resort, motoring trip, or even a few weekends at a nearby camp. (Though, of course, there's no reason why you can't just climb into a hammock in the yard or on the fire escape, lay in a good stock of books, records and a case of beer, and just stay home.)

By and large, however, most people want to get away from it all, and this special Travel and Resort Report of the GUARDIAN is designed to help tell you how. The methods are, of course, varied and endless: those who love the country and have what it takes can always find a cottage where they can enjoy a reasonable facsimile of their own Walden—and there are few places in the U.S. more than a reasonable driving distance from a sea shore or lake front.

ONE OF THE MOST popular retreats is the summer camp and resort, some 30 or more of which are listed in this issue. While the accommodations vary from plain to luxurious, you can be sure of wholesome and good food in every one of them, swimming close by, if not actually on the premises, and all the usual summer attractions—adjacent summer theaters, country fairs and good neighbors.

CAMP LAFOND'S COOL, IDYLLIC SETTING NEAR MONTREAL, CANADA

It goes without saying—though once a year it may need to be said—that all of the resorts and camps that advertise in the GUARDIAN operate without discrimination. And while the GUARDIAN approves the camps and resorts listed here, their particular appeals are so different that we suggest you check your choice with friends—or, better yet, visit them on a weekend.

While settling down in one spot in the U.S. satisfies most people, there are, happily for travel agencies, others who want to spend their vacation weeks abroad. Represented in this issue are two travel agencies equipped to take care of your excursions to Cuba, France, the U.S.S.R. or Ghana.

The GUARDIAN itself has helped to spark this wanderlust: Over 30 readers are taking off May 15 on a GUARDIAN-sponsored tour of seven European countries. They will be squired about in England by Editor-In-Exile Cedric Belfrage; in Moscow by correspondent Wilfred Burchett; in Prague by George and Eleanor Wheeler, and in Paris by Anne Bauer. They will also see Sweden, Finland and Poland before returning home June 28.

The second GUARDIAN tour this year will be to Cuba, July 24 to Aug. 6, during the island-wide celebration of the Movement of July 26. Reservations have been coming in at a brisk pace for this one, and we suggest that those who plan to go, but have not yet sent in their $50 reservation, do so at once.

IF YOU SEEK still other places to go, there are many other attractive spots on the globe and Afton or 20th Century Tours will be pleased to have you ask them for information.

There are dozens of other suggestions for which space permits only a mention. The U.S. Government Printing Office (as explained on p. 11), has prepared 68 helpful booklets on the national parks, forests and other places of interest to help you plan an outdoor vacation. All states have recreation, travel or tourist commissions which issue brochures touting their local glories, and if you use a little common sense you can tell the wheat from the chaff. For example, by reserving early enough in advance, you can get low-cost cabins in state parks. Just take out the food, bedding and sports equipment, drop a quarter in the gas meter and you're in clover.

All oil companies have tour bureaus which provide free road information—they skin you on the Thruway, so you ought to get something free! Tourist services have been developed to the point where one public relations office (Gaines Dog Research Center) offers a booklet—**Traveling With Towser**—which lists the hotels and motels that accomodate pets without fuss.

Have a good summer!

RESORTS

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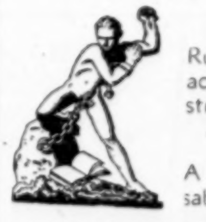

THE WALL BETWEEN, by Anne Braden
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☐ **The Wall Between**
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MY NAME ....
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A YOUNGSTER'S VERSION

Camp life mixes fun, gripes and learning

By Margaret Corey

YOU HOP ABOARD the bus, train, or any other conveyance the camp has provided, and start on your way to what your parents say will be "a wonderful experience." It sure is. Your parents saw pictures of campers swimming, but the photos were all close-ups. "It's a quaint New England pond," the director explains. "Quaint" is right. At one camp we paddled around on our bellies in a dredged-out duck pond. Though sometimes you do happen upon a camp where the lake is a beautiful, tree-bordered mirror of water.

But what happens when you want to swim? Well, any camper can tell you. Down to the water you tramp. It may take half an hour to get there. The road is hot and dusty and you can't wait to plunge into the cool water. But, wait! Everyone needs a buddy, another poor soul like yourself, who is assigned to you for the purpose of informing the life guard at the next buddy call that you have gone to rest in a watery grave. Actually, the buddy call every ten minutes assures the life guard that everyone is present and accounted for. At some camps there are ten campers swimming and 20 counselors watching.

SUDDENLY A WHISTLE BLOWS. It is time to ride. Up to the bunks you stampede to change from bathing suits to riding clothes. You and your parents were told you would learn to care for a horse along with supervised instruction and riding. This statement can be interpreted in many ways. The camp's view is: Clean out the stalls, water and brush the horses and saddle soap the tack, while the instructors supervise in the shade of a tree, usually napping. By the time six stalls and six horses are spotless, you have five minutes left in which to trot around a dusty ring that manages to remain dusty even when it rains. Yet, when we occasionally do reach the trails, no scenery is more spectacular or any experience so thrilling.

CLANG, CLANG! There goes the bell for lunch. Hurry and put away the horses! Run or your food will get cold! Now comes one of the three worst parts of the day. The other two are breakfast and supper. Actually it is the community sing that gets you down.

Food, waiter, waiter, waiter
Food, waiter, waiter.

On and on till the roar is deafening, and the waiters bring the food.

Another favorite is:

Here we sit like birds in the wilderness,
Birds in the wilderness, birds in the wilderness,
Waiting for our food.

This song is harmoniously accompanied by clanging forks and spoons on the table.

Meal time can be fun, though; we get to trip the waiters and push food at obnoxious counselors. We blame that on the waiters, too. Honestly, camps sure think up the queerest concoctions in the name of food. Everything is powdered—eggs, milk, everything. One summer the food was so unbearable, our bunk got up a grievance committee. I was elected spokesman. I approached the camp director and delivered my complaint. "The food is inedible, I have lost three pounds already," I said. The camp director did not bat an eyelash. He puffed at his pipe and pleasantly inquired if I was nervous. I said, "No, hungry."

Realizing that he had the psychological approach, I decided it was a losing battle, and that I could sustain myself on potato chips and soda for the rest of the summer, if necessary. It wasn't, worse luck! As a matter of fact, towards the end of the summer I was guarding my food with my life. For our camp doctor stealthily stole around the dining room snatching food from our plates for his dog!

"... A FEELING OF UNITY AND LOYALTY TO A GROUP"

OH! THAT DOCTOR! He gave out pills for absolutely everything. My brother had a black eye and a bee sting. The doctor didn't even ask him why he came. He tossed him a green pill and told him to come back in a week and tell him how he was. That summer we had three doctors at camp. The first quit after two weeks. We couldn't stand him. The second quit after a month. He couldn't stand us. The third doctor was very talented—in art, that is. He could make an outhouse out of a milk carton and could draw Mickey Mouse on a patient's leg better than any doctor I know. I guess we did owe him something, though—we were afraid to get sick, so the health record that summer was excellent.

Camp directors are a strange breed. They think they can run a camp with reverse psychology. Many of the campers said they hated camp, and one or two actually ran away periodically (to the nearest candy and ice-cream shop). Well, our psychologically-oriented camp director threatened these wayward children by saying, "You won't be able to come back to this camp next year," not taking into account that they ran away because they did not like the place. The kids cheered and the director threatened. The next year the camp was doubled in size.

With all our complaints, camp is great fun. We loved taking care of the horses and the less we thought about the food the better it got. Camp gives one a feeling of unity and loyalty to a group, for by making life pleasanter for your camp mates, you make life pleasanter for yourself. You do things for others and some of your standards and values change. Clothes become less important, people become more important. You learn that everyone, no matter what his color, religion, or family background, is on an equal standing with you. In thinking over my camp experiences, I have very fond memories of camp fires, overnight hikes, folk dancing, fencing lessons and mainly being with a group of wonderful kids at a beautiful camp.

An experienced observer of children's camps, 16-year-old Margaret Corey leaves shortly for Europe and an investigation of French schools.

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MARTHA'S VINEYARD: Lovely house in Menemsha—three bedrooms, bath, full kitchen, indoor-outdoor hot-water shower—available for June or for September (after Labor Day). Ideal for early or late vacation. Walking to beach, market and post-office. Completely furnished. Only sheets and towels needed. Write Box JA, Guardian, 197 E. 4th St., N.Y.C. 9.

CROTON PK. COLONY, Croton Av., Peekskill, N.Y. Entire or part of 4-rm. house—grounds, beautiful basement, casino, swimming. Call N.Y.C. Mon.-Fri. after 6 p.m., TR 3-4559, Ninos.

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PUBLICATIONS

A SUMMIT SPECIAL—Published May 1, 1960

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GO IN A GROUP OR BY YOURSELF

The do's and don'ts of touring the USSR

By Bernard L. Koten

HAVING in the last year or two visited the Soviet Union as a deluxe tourist, as an invited guest, as a member of a delegation and as leader of a large, successful group tour, and with a background of having lived and worked and studied in the Soviet Union for many years—I am emboldened to write as an expert on tours to the Soviet Union.

It has become fashionable as well as popular to visit the U.S.S.R. in the last few years. Even the society columnists now note that Mr. and Mrs. P. Willington Slemp have just returned from Paris, Rome and Moscow. So maybe, somehow, you'll be going too.

When you go to Moscow it isn't like going to other foreign cities, merely to see and hear "foreign sights and sounds." It is a new world you're going to—a socialist world—and you want to see it in operation.

INTOURIST is the commercial Soviet tourist agency concerned with the care of foreign tourists visiting the Soviet Union; it's socialist but commercial too. The **Intourist** people do a comparatively efficient job of receiving and guiding you and passing you on from city to city, but they are really not set up to educate you nor cater to your special fields of interest. I have heard many Americans make the most outlandish demands on their guides for extra services which they would never think of demanding elsewhere—demands for full use of the guide's time after working hours, for access to private homes, etc. The guides are very polite in explaining their duties, but some tourists are frustrated and go home and complain.

They complain, for instance, that they can't knock on doors and visit ordinary homes. But what would happen here if Soviet tourists went around knocking on doors and asking to be admitted? It is true that Mikoyan did it here—but so did Nixon there. That's a little different.

They complain about how expensive Soviet visits are. When you break it down it seems cheaper, however, than comparable travel would be, especially as compared with what Soviet tourists get when visiting the United States. The trip—including fare to the U.S.—cost them 9,500 rubles ($950) for a little over two weeks and I've seen the room (double) and the food they get.

There are several rates now for travel in the U.S.S.R. There is a $30-a-day per person deluxe rate, a $16 pension rate, a $12.50 rate for businessmen, and for groups, a $17.50 first-class rate, a $12.50 tourist A rate and a $10 Tourist B rate.

WHAT DO YOU GET for your money? At $30 a day you get a suite of rooms with private bath, a personal guide for six hours a day, a chauffered car for three hours a day, and four meals a day which you select individually from a deluxe menu. For $16 a day you get a private room and bath and the same deluxe meals, but no personal guide or car—you're on your own.

In both the $30 and $16 categories, you receive a book of coupons for your food—four coupons for each day. Each coupon has a ruble value which your Intourist host will explain. You can juggle the coupons and eat to suit yourself. The amounts are more than you can possibly use up. You can have guests on the coupons, or splurge on dinner and have a smaller breakfast and lunch. You can have tea or skip it.

MOSCOW UNIVERSITY ATTRACTS TOURISTS WITH CAMERAS

You can use the coupons in your hotel or any other Intourist hotel in the city. In Moscow you can even use the coupons at the swank Praga Restaurant in the Arbat. If you have any coupons left over, most of the maitre d's obligingly let you turn them in for caviar and vodka to take home.

ON THE GROUP RATE, $17.50 entitles you to private room and bath with individual menu meals; $12.50 gives you an individual room, sometimes without bath (there are always bath and toilet facilities on the floor, though) and group meals (family style at a big table); $10 gives you a room with one other person (very occasionally two other persons, sometimes even a room alone) with or without inside bath and group meals.

At the group table very much depends on the ingenuity of the leader. Group A or B is apportioned a set sum for each person per day. A good leader determines the general needs and tastes of a group and juggles a bit.

On my last tour I had 27 people on Tourist B (3rd class) and we managed, on the whole, to have three very good meals a day. The first friend I made in every new city was the chef, and I usually found him most willing to do his best and eager to make us happy. We always managed American-style breakfasts of juice and eggs and coffee with Danish and lots of extras because I know that breakfast is the one meal most Americans are not too adventurous about. But for the rest of the day we tried the best national dishes in Latvia, Byelorussia, the Ukraine, Georgia, Uzbekistan and Russia. We often had wine and a number of times even caviar and champagne.

Several times we ate in other hotels (1st class) and restaurants through careful husbanding of our daily ruble allowance. We had a feast in the Uzbek Tea House of the Elders that we all still talk about with dreamy eyes.

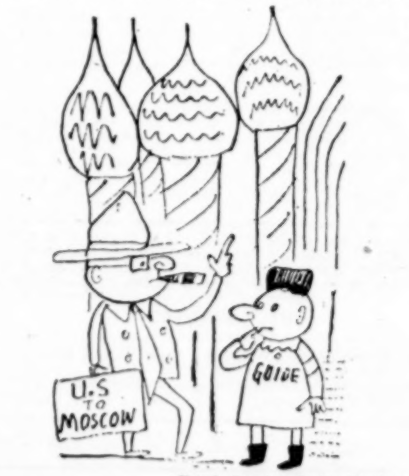
In addition, all Intourist guests only pay 50% for internal transportation and everyone is given one trip of under 500 miles free.

MANY THINGS of course, are much easier for a sizeable group than an individual—important things like getting to see collective farms, factories, schools, museums and hospitals.

With a million foreign tourists in the Soviet Union last year (15,000 Americans) and two million expected this year, is it any wonder that farm chairmen and factory managers balk at endless streams of individual tourists? A collective farm chairman said to me last year: "This will be a day of fun for you. but it will disrupt a day's work for us." But when you face them with a large group with wide interests they are less reluctant to receive you.

ON OUR LAST TRIP, as we went around in groups, our size and variety attracted large crowds everywhere outside Moscow (Moscow, like New York, is full of visitors and the Muscovites are just as blasè about visitors, even in sari and turban). People gathered round to talk (five of us spoke Russian) and make friends. In every city we were invited to homes and many of us still carry on an active correspondence with new friends in many cities.

Finally, of course, group traveling is so much cheaper. You can see more over a longer period for less money. So go with some congenial group with a good leader. Or, if you are a rugged individualist, go alone. **But go!**



Dyad, London Daily Worker

"Say, you ain't seen nuttin'—we got slums twice the size."

And remember to try to leave your ethnocentric warp behind you for the trip—in food habits, in living standards, in cultural patterns. Linguists have reached the point when they can say, and **do** say, that there are no better or worse languages—just **different** ones. Can't we learn to say the same about ways of life?

BERNARD L. KOTEN is director of library and research, Library for Intercultural Studies, Inc., 225 Lafayette St., N.Y. 12, N.Y. He will lead two tours to the U.S.S.R. this year, one leaving May 22 to the Transcaucasus, Central Asia and Siberia, and another leaving Aug. 6 for Prague, Warsaw, Vilnius, Riga, Leningrad, Moscow and Kiev.

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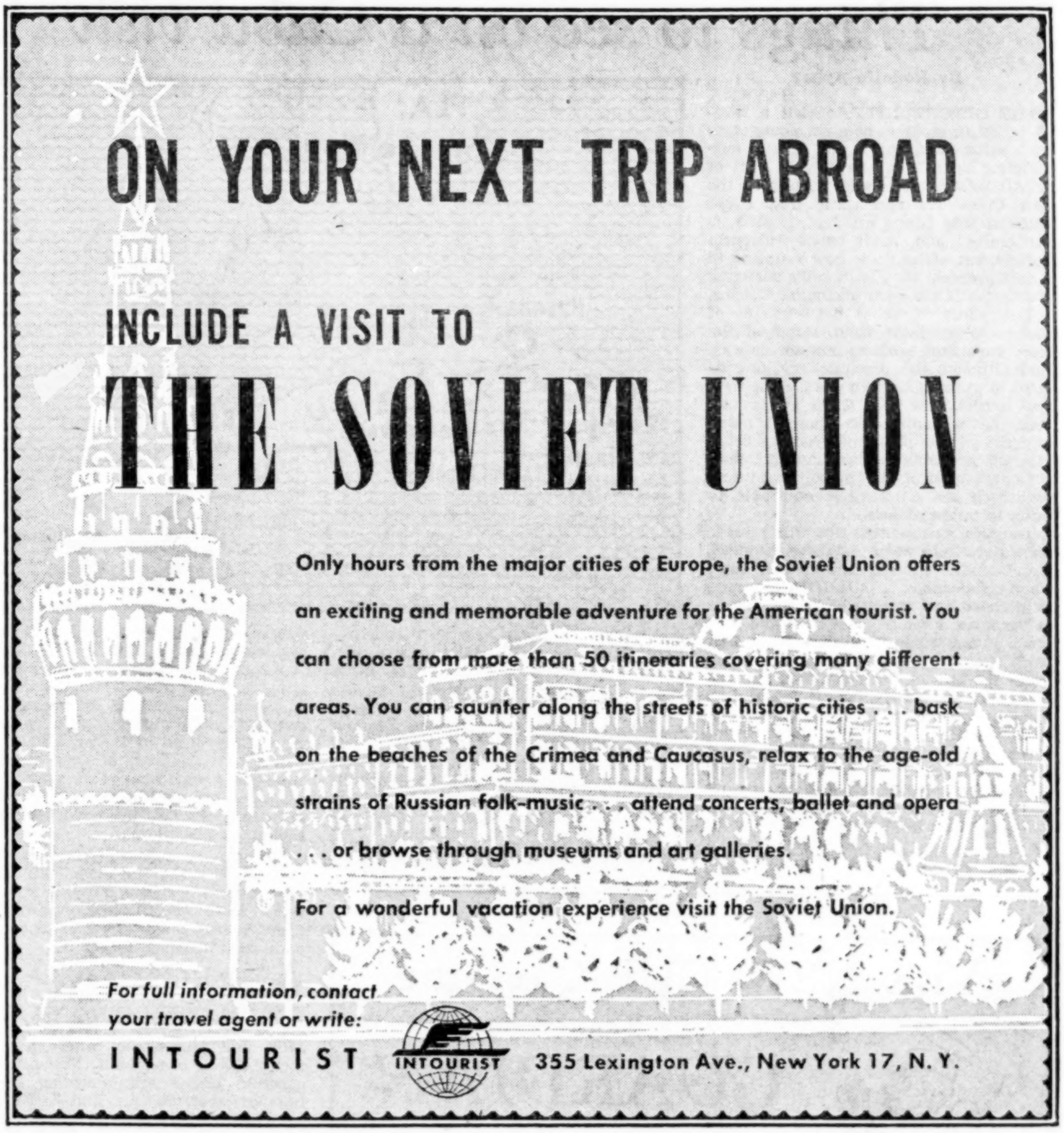

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YOU'RE IN LUCK IF YOU'RE ON THE GUARDIAN TOUR

Things to see on a Cuba visit

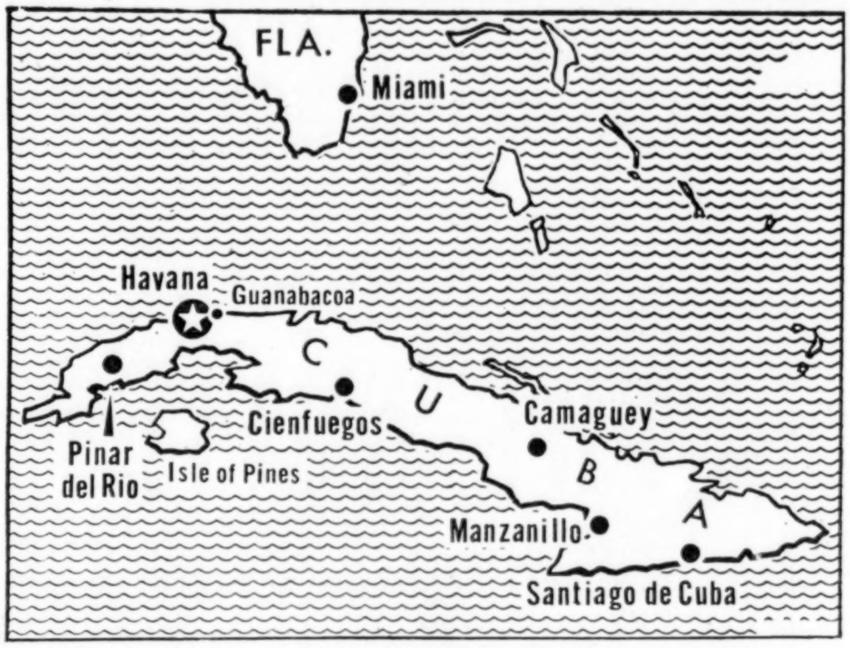
By Rodolfo Aybar

HAVANA

THE OPPORTUNITY to visit a revolution in progress does not come often to tourists—and that's one of the outstanding appeals of the July 24 visit of GUARDIAN readers and friends to the new Cuba. For the spirit that swept through this island on Jan. 1, 1959, is continuing; and, as it swept Fulgencio Batista out office, it is now erupting in a vast program that is literally changing the face of Cuba—and changing Cubans.

Two short weeks is not enough, of course, to see more than a few of the most important projects now under way. And although the revolutionary government is working hard to change the narrow tourist view that Cuba is Havana, even in the capital city there is much evidence of the profound changes being effected in living habits, cultural pursuits and, most of all, the political interest which the citizenry is now able to bring to public affairs.

The two sightseeing trips will provide an insight into some of these changes, but I would strongly recommend that, wherever possible, a GUARDIAN family, or perhaps two couples, take advantage of the low car rental rates here and tour some of the other provinces. From Havana, for example, they could visit lovely Pinar del Rio in western Cuba, and famous Vinales Valley, where up-to-date motels, hotels and restaurants offer a grand choice for visitors. Hundreds of other attractions are within a few hours' driving distance—medicinal water resorts, hunting and fishing grounds and many popular beaches—formerly private resorts that have been opened to the public.



THOSE WHO are not absolutely devoted to the beach might find time, during the three-day stay at Varadero—15 miles of resort area that ranks with the finest in the world—to visit other areas of Matanzas Province, or even Las Villas Province. It was in Santa Clara, capital city of Las Villas, that the last decisive battle of the Revolution was fought. In Las Villas, as in all the other provinces, cooperatives, schools, hospitals and new homes are being built at a rapid pace.

Those who intend to take advantage of the $30 side trip to Santiago de Cuba will be especially rewarded. For Santiago, the oldest major city in the Western Hemisphere and capital of Oriente Province, is being completely transformed. The notorius Moncada Barracks, where hundreds of revolutionaries were tortured and murdered by Batista's henchmen, and where the 26th of July movement was born, has been converted into a school center, and instead of the screams of victims one now hears the laughter of thousands of children.

Santiago is a fascinating town. The old Morro Castle, San Juan Hill, the Cathedral, and Bacardi's Museum are places to be visited. And those who plan to be in the city July 26 for the anniversary and carnival will never forget it.

OTHER CITIES that could be visited from Santiago include Bayamo, where the national anthem was written; Yara, where the Ten Year War began in 1868, and Manzanillo, where a fishermen's city is being built. New brick and concrete homes are replacing the old huts of straw roofing and earth floors in which fishermen and their families have lived for centuries. From Manzanillo it is a very short trip to the Camilo Cienfuegos Children's City, a project which is being built in the Sierra Maestra ranges to lodge 20,000 mountain children.

Few tourists will have an opportunity to visit Camaguey, the town of churches in the center of the castle area and the "rice bowl" of Cuba. Camaguey is a typical colonial city with winding, narrow streets, beautiful buildings and parks, and, as in all the capital cities, the main Army barracks, hated symbols of oppression, have also been changed into a children's center. In the surrounding area, thousands upon thousands of acres of rich land, long idle, are now under cooperative cultivation. The "Cooperativa Agramonte," with 20,000 acres in rice and 10,000 in pastureland, is the pride of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform in the province.

IT IS SAFE TO SAY, however, that whatever part of Cuba the tourists choose to visit it will be impossible to escape the awareness of sweeping change. The hunger and misery of the countryside is being fought with determination and success. New towns, new roads, new factories, schools and hospitals are rising everywhere, and with them the standard of living of the whole people. The standard of living, indeed, is the uppermost consideration of the government and each new project etches more deeply into the minds of the people the real meaning of the revolution and of people's government.

Certainly, throughout Havana itself this new spirit will be experienced. For whether you visit the huge worker's cooperative housing project in East Havana, the magnificent "new" Havana in the western part of the city, with its luxurious hotels and wide avenues, or "old" Havana, a charming place of narrow streets, you will find a gay, spirited population that will welcome you to its country and capital.

The GUARDIAN tourists will find new Cuba a remarkable, refreshing experience, the finest symbol of which they can visit at Varadero—former President Batista's magnificent beach house, now a sanctuary for war orphans.

Rodolfo Aybar recently returned to Cuba to work in the government, and will be interpreter and guide for the Guardian *tourists July 24 - Aug. 6.*

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THURSDAY: Tour of Havana.
FRIDAY: Full day excursion to cooperative.
SATURDAY: Free Day.
SUNDAY: Free Day.

AUGUST 1

MONDAY: Group interest and optional tours.
TUESDAY: Group interest and optional tours.
WEDNESDAY: Leave in air-conditioned limousine for 2-hour drive to Varadero Beach and Oasis Hotel.
THURSDAY: Varadero.
FRIDAY: Return to Havana — Farewell dinner at Rosita De Hornedo.
SATURDAY: Leave Havana 9 a.m. Arrive Idlewild 1 p.m.

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CONTEST

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A NEW HAVEN READER has jumped into an early lead in the GUARDIAN'S Spring Sub Contest! As of this moment—with 46 days to go from the date of this issue—he has a toe-hold on the Grand Prize—the 13-day all-expenses-paid trip to Cuba!
But there's still plenty of time for you to compete—just start collecting those $1 trial (13 weeks) and $5 (full year) subs now. We're keeping a careful record of the points. And maybe you'll wind up winning one of those big prizes. And remember, Buck-A-Monthers, your subs count too.

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THERE'S MORE THERE THAN WAIKIKI BEACH

How to enjoy a Hawaii vacation

By Jean King

HONOLULU

FOR THE AVERAGE tourist to Hawaii—and they averaged more than 20,000 a month during the first three "slow" months this year—Waikiki is Hawaii.

Waikiki—a mile-long strip of crescent beach lauded in story and song, photographed in technicolor and cinemascope, whose waves swish on "Hawaii Calls" for listeners across the nation.

Waikiki—backed by towering hotels and disordered rows of housekeeping apartments, whose main $20-$30 per square foot boulevard Kalakaua Avenue—named after Hawaii's last king, the Merry Monarch—is interspersed with restaurants, shops and bars ranging from the deluxe to the decrepit.

But the increasing visitor reaction to the rapidly changing face of fabled Waikiki is, "But this is just like Miami Beach."

MORE AND MORE hotels are going up higher and higher. Builders get into legal hassles over who is blocking whose view, and while they are stalemated competitors gleefully build around them.

Three airlines which now furnish jet service to Hawaii (three-fourths of Hawaii's visitors arrive by air) complain that lack of hotel space restricts additional tourist travel (243,216 came last year). Although 46% additional hotel rooms are under construction in Waikiki, a number of hotels have already announced they are booked 95% for the slow months, booked solid for the summer.

New hotels are mushrooming on neighbor islands to meet the increasing spillover on daily inter-island flights.

Many of those who make tourism Hawaii's fourth industry (ranking after defense, sugar and pineapple), once ensconced in their hotel never leave Waikiki.

HENRY KAISER, an enthusiastic dynamo who has made established hotels jack up their services to compete, has attempted to make his Hawaiian Village hotel so complete that a guest need never leave the grounds.

Standard procedure for the tourist is to be herded on successive whirlwind tours with a strict stick-to-our-time-schedule routine. He can also take in such "special events" as the hula shows put on by the Kodak people to promote the sale of film.

But despite the commercialized nature of the tourist industry—$101,000,000 in 1959 and estimated as achieving number one dollar status within three years—the visitor can't help but respond to the warmth of the people, or relish the 75 degree year round average temperature (the Hawaiians didn't bother having a word for weather), the sparkling beaches, the warm, clear water, the magnificent mountain and sea views, the lush foliage.

FLUNG TO THE TOP of the sea by a lavish if imperious nature, the 6,000-plus square miles—tagged by Mark Twain "the loveliest fleet of islands that lie anchored in any ocean"—are now tightly owned. The government and 60 largest private owners hold 88% of the land. The 12 top private owners have title to 52% of the private land.

Largest of the private owners is Bishop Estate, founded by an island princess who married a Yankee banker. Like the other large owners it is disinclined to sell any of its vast holdings. This, plus the fact that these large owners do not utilize all their land themselves, results in a system of land tenancy based on the leasehold.

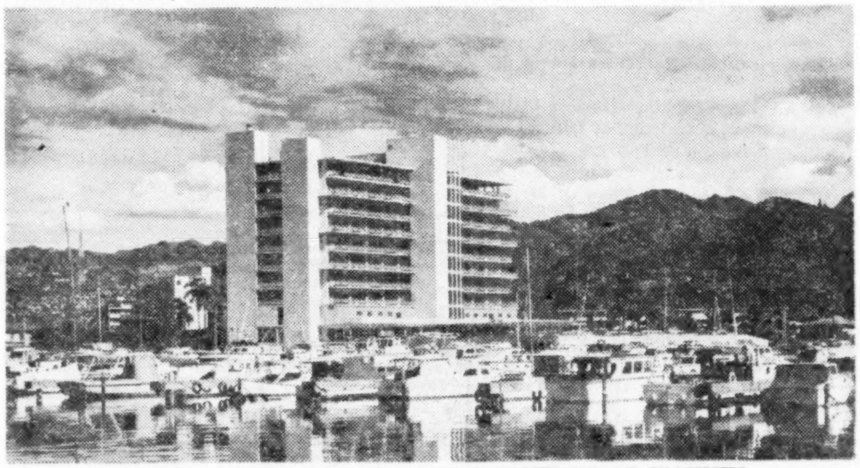
A large portion of business establishments and homes throughout the islands are on leased land, with the typical lease running 50 years. On termination, the business or homeowner is faced with ouster or greatly increased rental.

LAND SHORT OAHU—on which more than half the population, Waikiki and the capital Honolulu are located—is running into trouble luring industry because there is not enough land available for industrial use. Rich bottom lands are in great demand for sugar and pineapple and consequently are not readily given up to residences or industry. Much of the remaining land is mountainous or semi-mountainous, making for spectacular scenery but not much else.

When the Bishop Estate in a rare move offered some 350 lots on a fee simple basis, more than 2,000 land-hungry would-be homeowners applied.

The rising population (609,096 civilians, approximately 57,000 military) makes the problem even more acute.

Islanders are a rainbow people, reflecting the tides of immigrant laborers brought to its shores by the sugar and pineapple industries. Japanese comprise roughly 33%, haoles (Caucasians) 22%, Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians 21%, Filipinos 13%, Chinese 7%, and other races such as Koreans, Puerto Ricans and Negroes, 4%.



ONE OF HENRY KAISER'S DEVELOPMENTS AT WAIKIKI

Intermarriages are a common occurrence (37% in 1958).

Racial prejudice is not non-existent as frequently propagandized, but is minimal.

HAOLES STILL HOLD the greater number of desirable top jobs and the large companies adhere to the practice of bringing in mainland talent rather than promoting local people from the ranks to their upper echelon.

But economically and politically the non-haoles continue to assume an increasing role. One U.S. Senator from Hawaii is of Chinese ancestry, its sole Representative in the U.S. House is Japanese, its lieutenant governor Chinese-Hawaiian, and its legislature predominantly non-haole.

Before the 1940's the "Big Five"—five factors which controlled sugar, pineapple, shipping and numerous other business interests—almost completely dominated the political, social and economic life of the islands.

Two major factors broke this semi-feudal control after World War II: 1) union organization by the ILWU of longshore, sugar and pineapple workers into one big union rather than separate unions of just one nationality which employers had in the past been able to play off against each other; 2) the entry of AJA (Americans of Japanese Ancestry) veterans into the economic and political scene, resulting in 1954 in the first Democratic majority in the legislature after half a century of Republican control.

With statehood the people of Hawaii for the first time voted for their governor (Republican) and sent voting representatives (2 Democrats, 1 Republican) to Congress. This year they will participate in their first Presidential election.

THE AVERAGE TOURIST knows little of this and cares less. From arrival to departure he is exposed to an ordered myth of ancient Hawaii.

Let's make it clear: you can spend all your time and money in Waikiki and have a great vacation—dining, dancing, swimming, sunning, deep-sea fishing, riding outriggers and catamarans, shopping.

But let's also emphasize that the more time you spend out of Waikiki the more you will get to know the real Hawaii.

The best key, of course, is a friend who lives here.

But guided by the basic premise of the more time away from Waikiki the greater the savoring of the real flavor of the islands, the imaginative visitor can find numerous ways to achieve this.

And a bonus is that your vacation hoard will go further than on Kalakaua capers, for as any islander knows, "Everything costs more in Waikiki."

Here are some practical suggestions.

GO TO THE LESS "civilized" neighbor islands—Hawaii, Maui, Molokai, Kauai. Rent a car and explore at your leisure. Stay at motels and housekeeping cabins rather than the big hotels. Camp at a public park or beach.

In Honolulu stay at a non-Waikiki hotel, such as the Blaisdell or Kobayashi, where rates are lower and where the moment you step outside you are rubbing shoulders with local people. Or rent a cabin on the other side of the island.

Ride the buses—see the face of the land and the face of Hawaii's people. All you have heard of their friendliness is true.

Walk along the streets of downtown Honolulu, into its stores, through Chinatown, the colorful open-stall fishmarket.

Visit the aquarium and zoo (these are in Waikiki), and the Saturday art mart where local artists display their works on the zoo fence.

Spend time at Bishop Museum where attractive exhibits give an authentic picture of old Hawaii.

CAMP OUT at some of the public parks, or join the local Trail & Mountain Club for its weekly Sunday hike.

Picnic and swim at Ala Moana Beach Park, only a short distance from Waikiki, where your fellow picnickers will be islanders rather than tourists.

Drop by the ILWU buildings and see the three-story high curved wall mural by Pablo O'Higgins depicting the history of labor in Hawaii which backs the spiral staircase.

Watch the local papers for announcements of cultural programs presented by different national groups, for notices of non-Waikiki-hotel luaus sponsored by churches or other groups.

Dine at the smaller local restaurants specializing in various national foods, such as the Seoul Kwon on Liliha Street featuring Korean food, or the Kaimuki Poi Bowl with Hawaiian food.

Whichever Hawaiian vacation you desire—a Waikiki tourist one, a grass roots Hawaiian one, or a happy combination—you'll have fun.

Aloha!

Jean Sadako King is a young kaamaaina *(long time resident of the Islands) married to a lawyer and mother of a son. She is a reporter for the weekly Honolulu* Reporter.

You'll love all that's new at Chaits!

- **Ground has just been broken for** the new air-conditioned buildings which will be ready July 1. It is exciting to see them go up—and to think of the looks of surprise and pleasure on your faces.
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  - —the creative day camp in which Chaits pioneered more than ten years ago
  - —clay and all-weather tennis courts
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  - —an excellently equipped arts and crafts studio
  - —Annette's delicious dishes of all nations

And you can understand why we are happily receiving so many advance summer reservations.

Better reserve early

Reservations for the summer are flooding in. Last year, we were 60% reserved by June 1 and were compelled to turn many friends away during the summer. We have built 12 fine new rooms but it appears that the number of advance reservations this year will exceed last year's. So do try to reserve early to insure the room you want at the time you want it. (Get a headlock on your boss and hold on until he decides on the vacation schedule).

The word for Chaits is 'people'

- **Over the years, Chaits has** become a favorite gathering place for warm-hearted knowledgeable folks—people who value people above everything else.
- **It is not surprising that you** constantly meet old friends at Chaits or make delightful new ones whom you'll want to see again and again. Chaits' greatest attraction has always been its guests. Their gaiety and talents have contributed enormously to the delightfully relaxed, informal atmosphere of our place. **Still a few rooms left for Decoration Day Weekend.**

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UPHAUS COLLEAGUES DEFY INQUISITORS

World Fellowship expands its program

By Ruth France

THE WORLD FELLOWSHIP Camp at Conway, New Hampshire, will open as usual this June, with a program "bigger and better than ever," although its director, Dr. Willard Uphaus, may still be in jail at Boscawen, N.H. In a great demonstration of loyalty to Dr. Uphaus and his wife, Ola, former speakers at the Fellowship seminars are returning for the season, with many new speakers appearing for the first time.

The Fellowship Camp is a beautiful tract of land at the base of Mt. Chocorua in the White Mountains. The famed Presidential Range is within excursion distance, as are other vacation attractions. The camp offers swimming, boating, hikes and games, but above all, "fellowship." Meals are served family-style and the program includes activities for campers of all ages from every corner of the U.S.

This year Dr. Uphaus' role as program-coordinator and discussion leader is being assumed by Dr. Dryden Phelps, graduate of Yale Divinity School and the U. of California. Dr. Phelps went to China in 1921 and taught at West China Union University in Chengtu until 1950. A Chinese scholar, he also enjoys a wide reputation as an outstanding interpreter of the life of Jesus.

AMONG THE NEWCOMERS to the Camp this year will be Carleton Beals, authority on Latin America, who will conduct a seminar Aug. 28 to Sept. 2 on the theme, "How Does Latin America View U.S. Foreign Policy?"

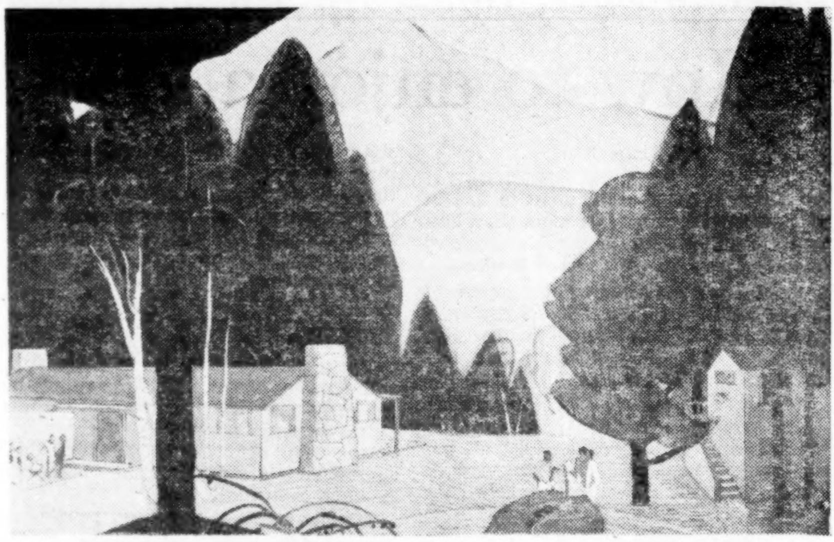
Dr. Russell Johnson, peace education secretary for the American Friends Service Committee, will be present Aug. 8-12 to discuss the cultural, social and political developments of East and West, and the possibilities of co-existence.

An unusual but timely seminar will be conducted on "Liberal Movements in American Medicine," to be led by Dr. R. H. Richie, Cambridge, Mass., physician. The date will be announced.

Others scheduled are Earl and Katherine Willmot of Mt. Royal College, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, who will bring the seminar their knowledge of China, gained from long residence and continuing contacts. Allyn and Adele Rickett, authors of **Prisoners of Liberation,** will be at the camp from July 25 to 29.

AND THE Scott Nearings, "regulars" at the Fellowship Camp, will return from Aug. 23-26. Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein is scheduled from Aug. 15-19 to discuss the situation in the U.S. as she observed it on her recent nation-wide lecture tour, while the week of July 18-22 is to be devoted to the situation in Africa, speakers to be announced.

THE SEASON at Fellowship Camp will be one in which plans will be discussed for the expansion of World Fellowship, growing steadily despite the jailing of its leader. While hope has not been given up that Dr. Uphaus may yet be released in time to participate in the camp's summer activities, even if the State of New Hampshire continues to hold him as the prisoner of its inquisition he will know that his many friends and admirers are coming forward as never before to carry on for him.



PROPOSED NEW BUILDINGS AT WORLD FELLOWSHIP CAMP
Anita Willcox's painting of the changing landscape at Conway, N.H.

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July 4-8— World Fellowship and Willard Uphaus

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THE THINGS TO LOOK FOR

How to pick a camp

By Bob Steck

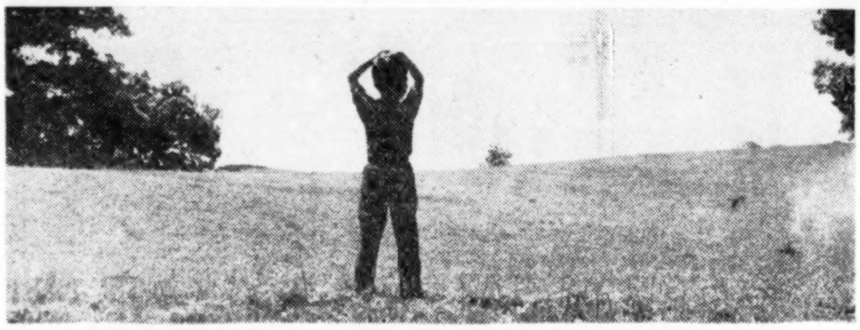
THERE'S PROBABLY no more difficult—or important—task confronting parents than that of selecting a camp for their children. For it goes without saying that the concepts developed there, the habits formed and the associations made inevitably leave a deep imprint upon the camper and it is more than ever necessary today that these be constructive.

What are the considerations that go into choosing the camp that will assure the child's healthy development?

First of all, why a camp at all? The answers are many, but the best single answer is that eight good weeks as part of a democratically functioning group his own age can immeasurably expand a child's personal and social horizons. A child is a developing being with implicit, unique endowments, an urge to realize his own nature and gifts. The proper camp develops and strengthens these gifts, and gives direction to his growth.

THIS INTRODUCES the most general—and usually the easiest to resolve—consideration in making your decision—its physical facilities. Obviously it should be reasonably well endowed by both nature and its architects—a good, clean place to swim; dry, sanitary sleeping, eating and recreation facilities; adequate provisions for outdoor life, etc.

A second, vital consideration, of course, is the camp leadership. It should go without saying that the directors and group leaders, considering that you are going to deposit your child in their exclusive care for months during his most impressionable years, should be professionally trained to meet the exacting demands of children. They must be emotionally mature, dedicated to their profession and capable of skillfully assisting the child to understand and accept his natural emotions and to guide them toward healthy solutions of the problems that arise from social living.



A SUMMER CAMP IS A TIME OF DISCOVERY FOR MANY KIDS

FOR A CAMP is a "collective" in which individual desires and needs will be tempered by the requirements of the group as a whole. It is the security that comes from becoming **part** of the group, indeed, that enables the child to bring his abilities to fruition, that enables him to **understand** the limitations that sometimes have to be imposed upon his more capricious impulses in the regulation of camp life. Rules must be clear without being arbitrary, discipline must be flexible but firm. Parents should try to ascertain, difficult as it is, that camp leaders meet such requirements. One of the best ways to do this, of course, is by talking with other parents who have had experience with the camp.

Another important consideration is the camp's program and techniques. There should be adequate opportunity for the child to participate in group planning, to learn democracy by practicing it. In democratically functioning groups, under trained leadership, campers develop their own goals and live in a spirit of accomplishment. There is no meaningless activity just to "keep the little rascals busy" but the fun of doing things together free of authoritarian attitudes.

FINALLY, A CAMP should not be isolated from the world we live in. **Integrated** camping is a democratic opportunity that every growing boy or girl should have. In camp life children learn the truth about each other and through their **living experience** demolish the myths of racial inferiority or superiority. As Frederick H. Lewis, a director of the **Herald Tribune** Fresh Air Fund, has pointed out, "the number of personal conflicts involving racial tensions (in our camp) can be counted on the fingers of one hand—despite the fact that some of our campers come from areas . . highly charged with racial animosity."

There are, obviously, many more aspects that can be considered in selecting a camp for your child, but these, I believe—facilities, leadership, program, and how well it realizes the deep traditions of democracy—are the fundamental ones.

Bob Steck is director of Camp Calumet, children's camp at Wingdale, N. Y., 70 miles from New York City.

'Good old Paul'

GLASGOW

PAUL ROBESON'S visit produced the most fabulous May Day this friendly proletarian city has seen in recent memory. Tens of thousands turned out to give him a heart-stirring welcome.

Bystanders crowding the sunlit pavements shouted "Good old Paul" as he marched for a spell at the head of the two-mile united Labor, trade union, Cooperative and Communist procession.

The biggest crowd ever seen in Queen's Park gathered to hear him sing at the rally that followed.

When Glasgow Trades Council chairman Dr. Anthony Hart introduced Robeson as the "No. 1 human being in the world at this time," the immense crowd rose like one man and a Hampden Roar of cheering ripped from their throats.

Clearly, they shared chairman Hart's sentiments when he said: "Robeson's services to peace and international understanding and the working class endear him to us and the people of the world."

—London **Daily Worker**, May 2

BOOKS

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EVERY GUARDIAN READER should make it a point to thoroughly understand the **Ever-Full Treasury**. It is the greatest advance in socialist thought and procedure in the history of socialism.

By establishing an "ever-full treasury" we can bring about a tremendous **REVOLUTION** by **EVOLUTION** that will bring everlasting prosperity and peace to our country and to the world.

As its name implies, the **Ever-Full Treasury** is a treasury for our various units of government that will never run out of "money" no matter how much the government spends for developing our country and our people.
Here is a glimpse of how it works:

(1) All taxes will be abolished. No unit of government will collect property, sales, income, excise or any other tax. And no unit of government will ever again have a bank account. (Who will be opposed to that?)

(2) All units of government, school boards, etc., will continue to pay their way, just as they do today, by writing "checks." But the checks will not be drawn on banks. They will be held by the banks for a short while until the Federal government redeems them. (No change in procedure except for the redemption of checks.)

(3) As our various governmental units write checks, and as those checks are deposited in banks, the bank deposits of the country will grow. And the amount they will grow will equal, approximately, the source of growth, which will be the checks the bank will be holding for redemption by the Federal government. If the government spends $20 billion in a certain period of time the bank deposits will grow about $20 billion. So the more "money" our governments spend the more will be on deposit in the banks. (Hoarding will be prohibited.)

(4) To redeem the checks that the banks will be holding the Federal government will merely draw on the money that government spending will be causing to pile up in the banks, out of circulation. The government will do that merely by reducing the size of the bank accounts—thereby reducing bank liabilities—in the amount of the value of the government checks they will be holding.

(5) The paring (reducing) of bank deposits will be no hardship on anyone because it will be taking from reserves and idle funds that would not be going back into circulation, and hence will be of no value to its owners except as a reserve. And reserve it will remain, because pared "money" will be returned to its former owners when, and if, they wish to use it. So no one will actually lose a penny. Also, but for the spending from the **Ever-Full Treasury,** the funds being pared would not even exist, and people would be paying non-returnable taxes from meagre resources. Paring bank accounts will be a simple, and just, procedure that will not take a thing from any living person.

(6) The great equalizer of bank accounts will be the Grim Reaper. Pared sums will be returnable only to account owners, not to their heirs. But this will in no way affect the inheritance of bank deposits and other property. (No change in inheritance.)

SEEM COMPLICATED? It is merely to abolish all taxes and let our government spend all the money it needs to spend, without budgets or appropriations. We can **afford** the schools, playgrounds, urban renewal and all that our planners will be spending money to create. Government spending makes us prosperous. The increased work, business activity, and the many facilities the ever-full treasury will bring will cost us nothing, but will enrich us all. And that will only be the beginning. Think of the avenue of social evolution the ever-full treasury opens. It will bring a world of peace and abundance.

Since the change-over involves nothing more drastic than the abolition of taxes, this plan is really practical.

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THIS CONSPIRACY DEVICE MUST BE STOPPED!

A year ago, we warned Guardian readers of the dangerous spread of the "conspiracy" charge as a part of the **mounting anti-labor drive**. Hundreds of Guardian readers heeded this warning and contributed generously to the legal defense in the **Cleveland Taft Hartley Conspiracy** case.

Since then the **"conspiracy" dragnet has spread**. Leaders of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Textile workers, Teamsters **all** face jail on "conspiracy" charges. **Frustrated** Dixiecrats have at hand this **"legally loose"** weapon to halt the progress of **integration** in the South.

The American Civil Liberties Union, **in its** bulletin of February 15th, 1960, **declared** that "a conspiracy charge is sometimes **used** when a prosecutor **does not have evidence to convict** a person of committing a substantive crime. The conspiracy charge is especially objectionable in the area of association. By naming persons as co-conspirators, as was done in the Ohio Taft Hartley affidavit case, without actually indicting them, it is possible for the prosecution to introduce into evidence conversations . . . . **even though the defendants were not present**. . . . Thus the conspiracy charge allows hearsay evidence to form a large part of the trial."

The Cleveland Taft Hartley Conspiracy case began in early 1958 with the mass trial of seven defendants, including two union officials who had signed non-Communist affidavits. Although the testimony was a web of gossip and hearsay, based on uncorroborated alleged private conversations, and although the chief labor defendant took the stand to refute the key prosecution witness, a blanket conviction was secured. All seven defendants were sentenced to 18 months in jail and $2500 fines.

Then, while the case was being appealed, the defense discovered the **chief prosecution witness was an Army deserter who had frequently lied about his past**, and that documents in the possession of the government, revealing some of these lies, had not been revealed during the trial. Despite this, the administration continued to press the case. Nor did it relax even after **Congress repealed the affidavit** section of the Taft Hartley Law, around which the case was centered.

The President himself, as well as outstanding educators and Congressmen, have recently questioned the propriety of a loyalty oath for **students**. Yet seven persons still are facing jail for alleged "conspiracy" in signing a similar **oath which has since been repealed!**

Within the next few weeks, the Cleveland Taft Hartley Conspiracy case will come before the U. S. Supreme Court. Labor leaders, liberals and progressives will look to the Court's decision as a crucial test both of loyalty oaths, and of the whole recent crop of conspiracy indictments.

Successful defense in a civil liberties case requires four important ingredients: **favorable climate of public opinion, competent attorneys, adequate funds, and a courageous court.**

Your contributions in the past have enabled the Taft Hartley defendants to spread their message to every major labor union in the United States. The moral and financial support received has made it possible **to carry** the appeal this far. **Now four competent** civil liberties attorneys are prepared to **present to the United States Supreme Court every legal argument to stop the tide of "conspiracy" indictments.**

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PERSPECTIVES IN AMERICA

What is a Jew?

THIS WORK* by Sanford Goldner is a sober, well-written and intelligent book which attempts, with unusual success, to fill three wants: (1) to give an accurate picture of the state of the American Jewish community today, including its relation to Jews in other countries—particuarly those in Israel and the Soviet Union; (2) to summarize clearly and fairly, although not impartially, the most important of the many controversial contemporary definitions of "the Jewish People," and discuss the implications of these essentially standardizing definitions in terms of the prescriptions they offer for Jewish survival as a distinctive conscious group; (3) to offer the author's own well-thought-out descriptive definition and add a prescription, concluding with some relevant discussion of fictional and other literary treatments of American Jews by American Jews today.

AFTER ESTABLISHING his factual background, Dr. Goldner considers the four major contenders in the current debate, now taking place both in and out of Israel, as to what constitutes "Jewry." He makes no secret of his own partisanship, but endeavors to present fairly the general assertions of "the religious school; the [traditional Zionist] school that regards the Jewish people as a nation; the Reconstructionist school which holds that Judaism is a culture or civilization composed of many elements of which religion is merely one, although an indispensable one; and . . . the secular school which holds that the Jewish people in the various lands are 'national groups' or 'national minorities,' with a certain culture and folkways."

He makes explicit his own acceptance of a variant of the "secular" definition, which describes the Jews as "a national group . . . or a people with a common history." Dr. Goldner suggests that this is essentially a descriptive rather than a standardizing definition, and indicates that even Zionists, as soon as they realistically accept the fact that the majority of Jews will continue to live outside of Israel, are forced to attenuate their view of the Jews as a nation until, for the "new Zionism," it simply coincides with the secular definition above, describing them as "a people with a common descent, common culture and common consciousness."

WE THEN APPROACH the question to which the entire first half of the book has, in a sense, been leading—the question as to what is most distinctive in this common history of the Jews. Dr. Goldner answers this, supporting his statement with exciting historical detail:

"The very uniqueness of Jewish history lies in its own record of social protest. It lies in the fact that social rebels were exalted and that their writings became 'The Book' of a people . . . The sufferings of the Helots in Greece and the Spartacists in Rome have to be ferreted out of history. But the sufferings of the underprivileged masses in ancient Jewish history are seen in the full light of day, and are written down as a guide and an examplar."

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After an all-too-short 25 pages devoted to developing this thesis we find a brief analysis of "the relation of class to national group identification" in recent European and American history. Then Dr. Goldner rather tentatively raises the $64 question of how—and how far—a distinctive secular way of life, based on the social values of the prophetic tradition, can be used to shape and (for some time, at least) perpetuate Jewish cultural survival.

THE ONE SERIOUS question I must raise—and it is one of which Dr. Goldner is by no means unaware—is the feasibility of his (or any) prescription for building a distinctive "secular way of life . . . in a synthesis of the [present] problems of the Jewish people with the past of the Jewish people."

It seems to me, for instance, already too late to make, effectively, as he suggests, a rich cultural translation of the observance of Jewish holidays into explicit social terms. Not because this would be distorting or misinterpreting them—Passover is a holiday of emancipation; Chanukah is a holiday of struggle for national liberation; Purim is a holiday of triumph at the destruction of an anti-Semitic tyrant—but because the ancient ceremonies marking these and many others are no longer (as they were for our grandparents) deeply meaningful, emotionally charged symbols.

To most American Jewish parents today these celebrations are at most quaint or picturesque survivals rather than part of a way of life or even cherished and nostalgic memories of childhood. In intellectual terms they can and should be remembered and transmitted to children and children's children. In emotional terms I doubt very much—and perhaps Dr. Goldner also does—whether they can be so transmitted with any force.

You can give new content to old forms only when those forms themselves are still alive and vital. And the only prescription I can imagine to make them so is a beloved Yiddish-speaking grandmother in each home. Which is clearly past praying for!

—**Annette T. Rubinstein**

**PERSPECTIVES IN AMERICAN JEWISH LIFE*, by Sanford Goldner, Ward Ritchie Press.. Los Angeles. Distributed by Jewish Information Service. 4278 Beverly Blvd., L.A. 160 pp. $3.75 cloth. $1.50 paper.*

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BETWEEN TWO WORLDS—I

Many forces in India pull against neutralism

By W. G. Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent
(First of a series)

GANDHI ON HIS MARCH FROM AHMEDABAD TO JALALPUR IN 1930 WHICH EVENTUALLY SET INDIA FREE
Many in the world today are still inspired by his successful campaign of non-violent civil disobedience

NEW DELHI

TO RETURN TO INDIA after almost 17 years was an experience. When I had been there, 1942-43, it was difficult—even with the best will in the world—to get very close to the Indian people. As a war correspondent, one was clad in a British officer's uniform at the moment when the Indian independence struggle against that uniform was reaching a climax.

Gandhi, Nehru and others had been thrown into prison. "Congress" was a dirty word. Indian officers in the British "Indian" Army, suspected of Congress leanings—as most of them had, including the Muslims—were regarded as potential "traitors." It was difficult in those days to strike a balance and retain one's warm sympathy for the independence movement and keep one's eyes on the wider target of defeating the grand fascist alliance. Not that one felt that hurling the real leaders of the Indian people into jail was going to help at a time when the Japanese were knocking on the gates of India and millions of Indians were starving to death in Bengal.

Impossible not to recall those momentous days when I walked into the pompous buildings of the Secretariat in New Delhi. Behind the desk where used to sit a particularly fatuous red-tabbed British Brigadier, chief of "Indian" Army Public Relations and detested by all correspondents for his smooth innocence of interest in anything but the suppression of Congress, sat an old friend. I had known him as an over-worked young lieutenant in public relations in Burma at the start of the Japanese invasion. Now he wears the Brigadier's uniform and runs public relations very efficiently for an authentic Indian army.

CHANGED CITY: If the Secretariat has been Indianized, so has New Delhi in general. It was a somnolent, dreary, most un-Indian looking city in the old days. It looked what it was. An administrative and military center of foreign occupation, a city where Indians were second-rate citizens. To see anything of Indian life in those days, one had to go down to the bazaars of Old Delhi.

Now New Delhi has been Indianized. Life has come out on to the streets. It is now a bustling, vital and colorful center of Indian life. From about 600,000 in 1941, the population has grown to more than 2,000,000 and is still expanding. New housing projects are overrunning villages and creeping out over the countryside towards the Qtab Minar and other monuments which formerly lay far outside the city.

In the center fine, new administrative buildings are going up, built of the fine red sandstone which is plentifully available nearby and with which the Mogul emperors built so lavishly. The builders have retained the traditional features of Indian architecture and taken full advantage of the planned, spacious dimensions of New Delhi. As in the case of the first rebuilding of Peking, architects are now being criticized for the cost of the buildings, especially the proportion that goes into the domes and cupolas of the beautifully shaped roofs. But they are a treat to look at and are solidly built to last for centuries.

GOOD TIMING: The latter half of February and first half of March this year was a good time to be in Delhi. Khrushchev had just come and gone; Parliament was in session and all wrought-up about the Nehru-Chou En-lai exchanges; the "wise men" of the Western financial world were prowling around to decide within a decimal of a percentage how sound India was for investments; final touches were being given to the outlines of India's Third Five-Year Plan.

I arrived in New Delhi the day Khrushchev left Calcutta for Rangoon. Western pundits were scandalized by some caustic remarks he had made about the quality of Western economic aid to India and were chattering about how enraged were the Indians about such remarks. Others were comforting themselves that in terms of decibels of applause and square feet of footpath space occupied by crowds, Eisenhower's visit was a much greater success.

The news that Nehru had invited Chou En-lai to Delhi for talks on the border incidents had just been announced and Indian right-wing parties like the Swatantra and Praja Socialists and the right-wing press were making scandalized noises—even using such words as "men without honor" in relation to Nehru. A few days later I sat in Parliament and heard Nehru demolish his right-wing critics and defend his life-long principles of negotiations and peaceful solutions. He exposed the bankruptcy of his right-wing opponents—who had no alternative to the negotiations they opposed—with calm and dignity. But it was with a rare flash of anger in his voice which brought supporters and opponents to their feet in a shouting match when he referred to those "with a vested interest" in no settlement with China and a continuance of the cold war. It was clear he had the House with him. Kripalani, the Praja Socialist chief, made a miserable back-tracking of his insulting references to Nehru.

INCIDENTS EXAGGERATED: Among responsible Indians and more thoughtful Westerners in New Delhi, I found general agreement that the border incidents had been exaggerated and blown up far beyond their real importance by those "with vested interests" in the cold war.

Once the acceptance reply from Chou En-lai came, it was generally assumed that a settlement could easily be had along the lines of the China-Burma—and later the China-Nepal—agreements, by marking definitely the frontiers where each side's versions of the traditional borders coincided, and setting up commissions to settle the disputed points. But the opposition is determined that a settlement should not be easily made. They have never had it so good. They have never had such a press at home—and above all in the U.S.—as the "real" spokesman for India.

The attacks, by the way, are becoming increasingly less oblique. On March 8 the Swatantra Party, a breakaway group of rightest dissidents from Congress which has increasing influence in certain military circles and existing right-wing elements within Congress, published its policy program. It does not openly attack Indian neutralism but calls for "serious consideration of the offer made by Pakistan for collaboration in defense of the sub-Continent" which in effect would mean abandoning non-alignment. It opposes the formation of cooperative farms and refers to the very mild Congress Resolution on cooperatives as "Marxist." It opposes state trading in food grains and demands the disbandment of the State Planning Commission.

For a few weeks previous to this, a number of newspapers had been suggesting that a visit by Nehru to Pakistan could settle all outstanding problems. The Chief of Staff of the Indian Army, General Thimayya, had just been there and found the atmosphere "excellent."

INTERVIEW WITH NEHRU: In the course of a 45-minute interview I had with Prime Minister Nehru, however, I gathered there was no basis whatsoever for all the newspaper optimism. Starting with Pakistan's non-settlement of her share of the national debt at the time of partition, to what Nehru referred to as the "consequences of Pakistan aggression against Kashmir," he found no basis at all for all the optimism about a possible settlement. And subsequently Prime Minister Ayub made it clear that any "joint defense" would have to be based on a prior settlement of the Kashmir issue.

Privately I was told Nehru had strong reserves about the usefulness of any agreements with Pakistan at this time. None negotiated since partition had been fulfilled by Pakistan and I was told that his view was that one made with "a military dictator" had even less chance of fulfillment.

On other questions, he told me, he felt that at summit talks it was "just as well for the four powers to sit down alone" when it came to discussing questions like Berlin, on which India "had its own ideas" but no vital interests. But questions concerning Asia "should not be settled behind the back of Asia." When "disarmament and other questions" were discussed Asia should be represented. And he used the term "Asia," not "India."

He felt that the drawback in having a series of summits was the temptation "to leave indefinitely till next time" the settlement of all really vital problems. He expressed the hope also that the U.S. would change its policy of reluctance to give outright economic aid to the public sector of India's economy. He thought it might contribute to some mixed public-private sectors.

WISE LEADER: On the evening I met him, Nehru had just come back from a meeting with Khrushchev when the latter stopped off at Calcutta on his way from Indonesia to Afghanistan. He seemed to me to be in a very good mood, confident, cheerful and crystal clear in every one of his formulations. It was an informal chat—no questions submitted in advance—just sitting on a couch, with bull-frogs croaking outside the window and talking about some of India's problems. For a man obviously under a good deal of strain, he seemed very calm and relaxed, his hands flicking through the pages of a book while his mind jumped from problem to problem as I raised them, occasionally turning to me with that rich smile and steady gaze, which amplified some of the thought behind the reply.

In Parliament, at a press conference and in an intimate, private conversation, I saw Nehru in action and admired him greatly as a wise, far-sighted leader of his people. A man who sees the way things should go at home and abroad and who, I felt, frets at the limitations and brakes imposed by having to play politics and diplomacy.

NEXT WEEK: East-West competition in India.

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NOVELIST LILLIAN SMITH ON THE SIT-IN MOVEMENT:

'It is involving not only students but all of us'

Lillian Smith, novelist and outspoken Southern proponent of desegregation, spoke on April 24 at the All Souls Unitarian Church in Washington, D.C. Excerpts from her remarks follow.

I AM GOING to talk of the spiritual crisis which the South and its people are facing. We have been in ordeal a long time and have had outbursts of violence and localized crises again and again: in Little Rock, in Montgomery, Clinton, Nashville, Tallahassee and in other spots in the South.

But what we are now facing is not localized and cannot be. It is something different, something that has not happened in this country before; it has a new quality of hope in it; and is, I believe, of tremendous moral and political significance. Somehow it is involving not only students but all of us, and there is a growing sense that what we say or fail to say, do or fail to do, will surely shape the events that lie ahead.

This hour of decision—and it is that for the South, certainly—was precipitated on Feb. 1, by a Negro student, age 18, a freshman in a college in Greensboro, N.C. He had seen a documentary film on the life of Gandhi; he had heard about Montgomery and the non-violent protests made there; he had probably listened to Dr. Martin Luther King—certainly he knew about him; he had his memories of childhood and his racial hurts, and he had his hopes for the future.

In some strange way his thoughts and memories and hopes came together and he talked about what was on his mind with three young friends. And a short time afterward, the four of them went on their historic journey to a Greensboro ten cent store.

From this small beginning, this almost absurd beginning, so incredibly simple and unpretentious that we Americans—used to the power of big names and money and crowds and Madison Avenue and Gallup polls—can scarcely believe in it, there started the non-violent students' protests which have caught the imagination of millions of us . . .

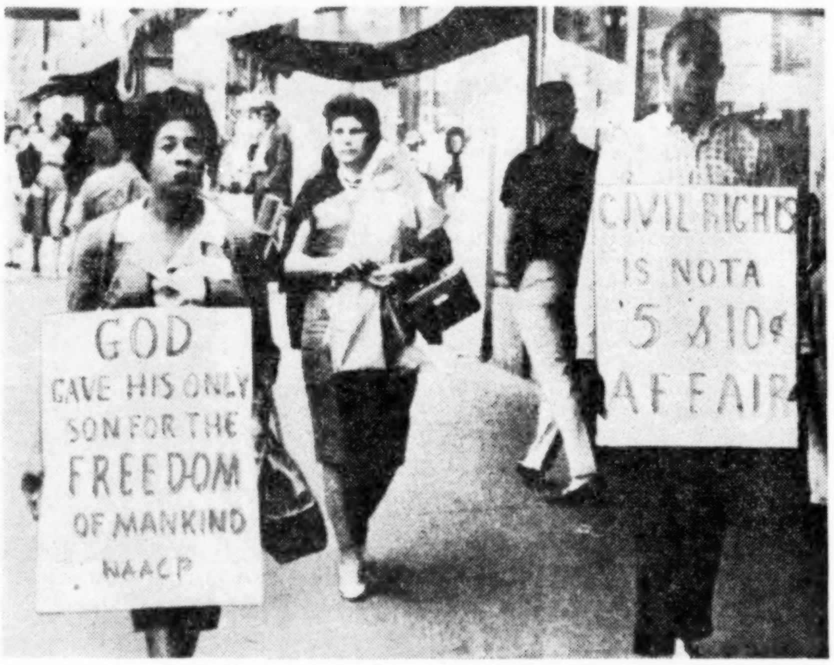
BUT THERE ARE some things that only the South can do. Things that only good, responsible, decent Southerners can accomplish. Only they can create a new climate of opinion in which mob violence and the hoodlums and the police and the White Citizens Councils can be controlled; and they can do this only by breaking their silence and speaking out. To speak out for law and order is not enough, today; there is a higher law which we Southerners must take a stand on, that concerns justice and mercy and compassion and freedom of the spirit and mind . . .

Our responsible people's silence is not because they are in the minority: they outnumber the demagogues and Klans and hoodlums and crackpots 20 to 1. In their hands are the media of communication: the pulpits, the TV and radio stations, the newspapers. They have the power and the money, the education and the technics to create an atmosphere of vigorous, healthy-minded concern wherein good words can be heard and the good act carried through . . .

WHY, THEN, are they silent? The tragedy of the South lies just here: segregation has made psychic and moral slaves of so many of us. We think we are a free people but we have lost our freedom to question, to learn, to do what our conscience tells us is right, to criticize ourselves . . .

Once the silence is broken the South will change quickly. More quickly than we think. There are so many ready for change; thousands of ministers who have taken a good stand; hundreds who preach strong eloquent sermons against segregation; there are close to a hundred thousand women in Georgia who are willing to give up segregation in all public places including the schools; and there are hundreds of them working hard every day to rid our state of a system that has hurt everybody. These women are informed; they have thought and studied and examined their own souls, many of them, and have given their children better training in human relations—certainly in terms of race—than my generation had . . .

We cannot change the South until we change our leadership and ourselves; we, as a region, can have our moment of truth only when we begin to think of ourselves as persons, when we open up our imaginations and our hearts, by taking the walls down within us. Then it will come. And it will be a healing time for us and perhaps for the whole world for we are so sensitized one to another, so closely related, with the common purpose of creating a future, that whatever brings wholeness to us as persons will bring wholeness to others across the world.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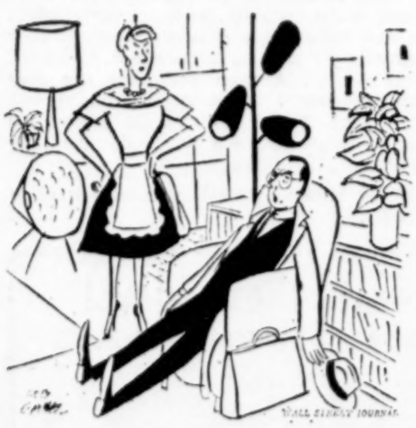
Mrs. Daisy Bates, Arkansas state president of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, marches on the picket line before a five and dime store in Little Rock. High school and college students are picketing three downtown stores in the city.

MISLEADING DRUG ADS CHALLENGED

Hearings look at value, price and profit of Diabinese

THE SENATE drug hearings, after a five-day recess, resumed a debate on May 3 and 4 on the value, price and profit of Diabinese, an oral anti-diabetic drug manufactured by Chas. Pfizer & Co.

Sen. Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.), chairman of the Antitrust and Monopoly subcommittee conducting the hearings, challenged the drug's value in light of the harmful side effects some said it caused.



Wall Street Journal

"I'm not sure whether I need a calm down pill or a pep up drink."

Committee staff members questioned the variance in the drug's price here and abroad. They also wondered why Pfizer paid less taxes than other companies although its profits were higher.

The hearings recessed April 28 after four physicians wrangled over Diabinese's side effects. Dr. Henry A. Dolger of Mount Sinai Hospital in New York said that the drug should not have been licensed by the Food and Drug Administration because 2,000 case reports showed 43 deaths and many instances of jaundice. Three other physicians summoned by Pfizer president John E. McKeen challenged Dolger. While the argument ensued the hearings were recessed in order not to "scare the daylights" out of people taking oral anti-diabetics.

ADS CHALLENGED: When the hearings reopened, Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R-Ill.), who has tried to squelch the inquiry, read into the record a letter from Dr. James M. Moss of Georgetown U. Hospital criticizing Kefauver for frightening diabetes patients away from oral drugs. Moss said that he had treated 128 patients with Diabinese without harmful effect.

Kefauver argued that Pfizer's misleading advertising "certainly . . . would justify the patient and physician taking another look at Diabinese and . . . having a frank talk as to its suitability." He also said that he had received "hundreds of letters" from physicians in support of the hearings.

Dr. Samuel Loube of George Washington U. Medical School testified that he would not have cleared Diabinese "at this time" because of the high rate of harmful side effects. He said Pfizer ads calling Diabinese "free from significant incidence of serious side effects" would "mislead me if I were not familiar with other material."

The committee had asked Loube to analyze the 2,000 case reports submitted by Pfizer to the FDA. He testified that in the first 489 cases, there were 24 deaths "due to various causes" and 128 cases of side effects including jaundice, nausea, skin rashes and vomiting. A random sample of the remaining cases showed two deaths.

HOT ARGUMENT: Loube warned that "unfortunately much of what has been said here can be misinterpreted by patients who have been taking Diabinese. That could be very harmful. A patient might think his doctor had been duped into giving him a harmful drug." He said that he prescribes Diabinese in "select" cases.

Pfizer president McKeen advised Kefauver to "cease dealing" with the medical aspects of Diabinese "which quite candidly are beyond your depth." The committee, he said, should be "searching for the facts, not the headlines."

Kefauver pointed out that the FDA had "strongly rebuked" Pfizer for sending out letters to physicians announcing the drug in 1958 without first getting approval of the text. The FDA said the letters continued "misleading comparisons" with other drugs. Kefauver said McKeen had personally assured the FDA that advertising material would be cleared but then failed to do so. McKeen said it was a "misunderstanding."

McKeen also said that the 27% harmful side effects noted by Kefauver were for high dosages. He said at the dosage recommended by the company, there would be only 3% side effects.

THE SPLIT HAIR: Committee economist Dr. John Blair pointed out that Pfizer sells a bottle of 60 Diabinese tablets to U.S. druggists for $5.40. But in London it costs $3.32; $4.77 in Toronto; $4.59 in Rio de Janeiro, and $4.18 in Teheran. McKeen insisted that Diabinese is cheapest in the U.S. if measured in the time a person has to work to earn the money to buy the drug.

Blair also said that Pfizer paid 20% less in Federal income taxes last year than the average of seven other large drug manufacturers, although it had $35,200,000 profits before taxes.

McKeen said this was because Pfizer did a large business in foreign countries where profits are not taxable unless brought back to the U.S. in dividends. The profits, he said, were reinvested abroad.

"Doesn't this amount to getting from the taxpayers an interest-free loan to build up your business abroad?" Blair asked.

"No sir," McKeen answered. "It is all perfectly proper and legal."

When the hearings adjourned McKeen shook Kefauver's hand and thanked him for allowing him to present a "full case." He added: "We're going to do a better job."

Hearings are scheduled to resume this week on the advisability of prescribing by generic rather than brand names.

New Yorkers: May 12 meeting to discuss spies and Summit

"THE NEW RISE of German Nazism" will be explored at a GUARDIAN-sponsored meeting on May 12 at New York Center, 227 W. 46th St., New York City, with a documentary film on the career of Gen. Hans Speidel, now commander of the NATO ground forces. **The Summit crisis and spy plane incident will be discussed.**

The meeting will also hear James Aronson, editor of the GUARDIAN, and Russ Nixon, Washington correspondent.

BOOKS

H3 and old age

THE H3 OLD-AGE THERAPY developed in Rumania by Dr. Anna Aslan with injections of procaine hydrochloride (Novocain) was first described in the U.S. by the GUARDIAN in 1958. It has been generally regarded with skepticism or derision here; and although many individual doctors have undertaken to administer the treatments, there has been no published report of any large-scale controlled clinical test of the development in the U.S. and very little has been written on it for the lay public except for the mimeographed fact-sheet published in Canada a year ago by Charlotte and Dyson Carter.

Now, however, an accomplished U.S. medical writer, Henry Marx, who has been closely following the progress of the Rumanian therapy since 1956, visiting Dr. Aslan's geriatric clinic in Bucharest several times and attending her lectures at medical conferences abroad, has set forth his findings in a thoroughgoing and easy-to-read book, **"H3" in the Battle Against Old Age,*** which deserves respectful attention in medical circles and among all seeking the most up-to-date information on geriatrics.

THE PUBLISHER of Marx's book sent the proofs to a gerontologist who had agreed to add his comments as an anonymous "medical monitor." The comments appear as a foreword to the book. The "monitor" objects to Dr. Aslan's use of the term "rejuvenation," preferring the term "eutrophic;" questions Marx's objectivity, asserting that this book would be more aptly titled "The Case for H3 Injections;" and warns author and publisher that they "will have to live with the fact that publication of the book as it stands is certain to generate pressure for premature generalized usage."

Marx is unquestionably enthusiastic about the results he observed in Dr. Aslan's clinic and he shares with the top medical figures of Europe, including England and the Soviet Union, a deep respect for the pioneering "rediscoverer" of the therapeutic properties of Novocain. But throughout the book he is careful to underscore the need for wider tests, more certain controls and due allowance for the psychotherapeutic factor that old people often take a new lease on life at the mere promise of help, and may show marked improvement on "placebo" injections of ordinary distilled water. If a new title is warranted for Marx's book, as the "monitor" suggests, it should be "Why Not Test H3 Here?"

The details of much of Dr. Aslan's 12 years of geriatric experimentation have been published in the GUARDIAN. Marx's book presents them in both text and chart form, with photographs giving graphic evidence of the improvements worked in several special cases. Full chapters are devoted to the use of H3 for diseases of the nervous system, muscles and joints, the skin, the cardiovascular and gastrointestinal systems, and allergies. Each of these chapters tells not only of the Rumanian work, but of effective applications of the therapy in England, France, Germany and the Soviet Union as well. Specific ailments for which H3 treatments are discussed include multiple sclerosis, Parkinson's Disease, rheumatism and arthritis, psoriasis, bronchial asthma, angina pectoris, gastric ulcers, and several rare diseases affecting people of all ages.

DR. ANNA ASLAN
Why not a test here?

A CHART of the effects of treatment of 875 people in five different disease groups shows improvement in 780, or 89.1%; no improvement in 71, or 8.2%; and death in 24 cases, or 2.7%. This compared with a death rate of 10.3% among 495 patients not treated with H3. In a later chapter, Marx questions whether the people in the group treated with H3 were as ill as those not treated with the substance; whether the latter were treated at all; whether diet, care and conditions of sanitation were the same. He urges further tests with carefully matched groups.

In a chapter headed "H3=novocain=procaine" Marx makes clear that the Rumanian preparation, commercially labeled Gerovital, contains no mystery ingredient but can be prepared by any pharmaceutical house anywhere, using ordinary procaine, for which the best-known trade name is Novocain. The "H3" designation resulted from Dr. Aslan's effort to distinguish her procaine preparation from its vitamin component para-aminobenzoic acid, which is a member of the B-complex of vitamins and is known as H1, and from folic acid, which is also a B-complex vitamin and is known as H2.

While the therapy described in Marx's report has been applied to people of all ages from childhood up for ailments identified with premature aging, it is of course of the greatest interest here to the group referred to by an eminent U.S. psychiatrist as "people without a future," the 15,000,000 Americans over 65—a figure Marx predicts will be 25,000,000 by 1980. For these, he says, even if only a small fraction of Dr. Aslan's "boundless therapeutic enthusiasm" proves justified, "a tremendously exciting fact remains:

"The battle against old age has been joined."

—**John T. McManus**

"H3" IN THE BATTLE AGAINST OLD AGE, by Henry Marx. Plenum Press, 227 W. 17th St., New York 11. 207 pp. including bibliography and glossary of medical terms. $4.95.

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PUBLICATIONS

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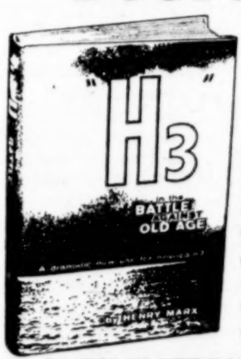
'New World Review' extends essay contest

THE DEADLINE for the New World Review magazine essay contest on "A Peace Program for Our Country" has been extended from May 15 to May 31, the magazine announced last week. The contest, open to young people from 18 to 25 years of age, will be judged by Rev. Henry Hitt Crane, Gen. Hugh B. Hester, Brig. Gen., U.S. Army (ret.), Dr. Guy Emery Shipler, and Dr. John Somerville. First prize is $200, second, $100, third, $50, and ten honorable mentions, $15 each.

Prize-winning essays will be published in the magazine. Information may be obtained from New World Review, 34 W. 15th St., New York 11, N.Y.

BOOKS

HAS A RUMANIAN DOCTOR LIFTED THE AGE CURTAIN?



In Bucharest last year several thousand men and women 45 years or older received a series of injections of novocain in a large scale test to see if this familiar old drug can prevent or postpone old age.

In "H3" IN THE BATTLE AGAINST OLD AGE, Henry Marx tells the exciting story of the medical research and the clinical experience that led to this, the world's first major assault on the aging process.

The author visited the Bucharest Institute of Geriatrics twice in 1959 to collect up-to-date, first hand data of Prof. Anna Aslan's experience with novocain injections in treatment of the stress diseases commonly associated with old age—arthritis, arteriosclerosis, degenerative joint diseases, hypertension, Parkinsonism, psoriasis, varicose veins, etc.

He reviews the results of tests with this therapy reported from clinicians in other parts of Europe, and the extensive application of novocain as a therapeutic agent in the U.S.S.R.

Here at last is a behind-the-headlines account for the intelligent reader—a factual, informative unsensationalized report that reveals how much (and how little) is known about "H3" therapy—its effects on the human body, and its performance and promise as a treatment for the diseases of old age, and as a preventive measure.

"H3" in the BATTLE Against OLD AGE
By Henry Marx
$4.95
At your favorite bookstore or directly from
PLENUM PRESS
227 W. 17th St., New York 11, N.Y.

N. Y. demonstration

(Continued from Page 1)

year's record.

Others refused to play. They believed that the exercise was a cruel hoax to persuade the American people that shelters provide a defense against nuclear war. In New York and elsewhere, almost 2,000 persons refused to take shelter and some were arrested. There were more protesters this year than at any time since the drills began in 1954.

OUT IN EIGHT: In Washington, only government employes and school children were expected to take part. At the State Dept. employes tucked papers into safes and evacuated their offices in eight minutes—four minutes faster than last year.

Of the city's seven sirens, one failed to sound and five fizzled partially. One, atop the Prince George Plaza Shopping Center, refused to stop wailing. Another, in the Belvedere Elementary School, caught fire.

G. R. Rodericks, District Civil Defense Director, left early for a command post in an administration building in the Lorton, Va., reformatory. He was joined later by other officials and business leaders.

EXCITED GENERAL: In New York, operations were under the direction of Maj. Gen. Robert E. Condon (retired). He stood on Broadway at 2 o'clock and through a loud-speaker announced that a drill was about to begin. Carried away by the excitement, he urged people to seek "shellout falters." His microphone went dead as he said: "Please cooperate."

As the sirens wailed at 2:15, police and CD wardens began pushing people into store doorways. When the CD men moved down the street, some people re-emerged to watch the proceedings. When police glared angrily at them, they ran back.

Gen. Condon looked at his watch and said that Times Square had been cleared in one minute and 40 seconds, compared with two minutes and three seconds last year. He announced that he would leave for CD headquarters in Queens at 2:33.

At the appointed hour he got into his command car and sped toward Queens. On the way he had to slow down for civilian cars which were ignoring the drill. On the Queensboro Bridge Condon's car turned on its sirens, but few cars pulled over to make way. There were no reports on whether Condon beat last year's record for getting to Queens.

WALL ST. LAGS: There were also irritating delays on the floor of the Stock Exchange. A strong rally was going on after a dip in the market when the sirens sounded. Traders took five minutes to clear the Exchange floor—a worse showing than last year.

Casey Stengel spent the drill in meditation at Yankee Stadium. When the drill began, his Yankees were losing 2-0 because of shaky pitching by Whitey Ford. Stengel led his team to the clubhouse and pondered his pitching situation. When the all-clear sounded and the teams returned to play, Stengel replaced Ford with Art Ditmar. The move was wise: the Yankees went on to win 10-3.

COPS ARREST TWO YOUNG WOMEN IN NEW YORK'S CITY HALL PARK

There weren't enough police vans to carry away all the demonstrators

Spectators in the bleachers were sent to cover under the grandstand. But people in the grand stand and in open box seats on the field were permitted to stay in place.

Patrons at the men's bar in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel were also allowed to stay put: it is considered a shelter area. Several women who sought sanctuary there were directed elsewhere. In peace or war, the bar is for men only.

Five teen-age boys found the drill a profitable experience. They robbed a grocery store and escaped into deserted streets with $45.

PROTEST: City Hall Park was far from deserted. About 1,000 persons, including nearly 100 children, gathered to protest the drill. They had been called out by the non-partisan Civil Defense Protest Committee, headed by A. J. Muste, Robert W. Gilmore and Algernon D. Black.

When the sirens sounded, 500 stayed in the park and sang "The Star-Spangled Banner." The others crossed the street and watched Henry G. Hearn, assistant chief inspector of CD Auxiliary Police, mount a bench and ask the crowd to "please obey the law." His voice was drowned in boos and laughter. "Are we Americans or not?" he demanded. The demonstrators cheered and then booed again. Hearn stepped down.

In a few minutes he re-mounted the bench, waved his arm in a wide arc and said: "I now place you all under arrest." Police went through the crowd arresting people at random. When they had picked up 15 men and 11 women they stopped because there was no more room in the wagons; they had only brought two.

FOR SMALL WEAPONS: Among the unarrested were Dorothy Day and Ammon Hennacy of the **Catholic Worker** who started the demonstrations in 1954 with only a handful of people. Demonstrating, too, were novelists Kay Boyle and Norman Mailer. Miss Boyle told reporters: "War is not possible if we all say 'no!' Civil defense is a way to say to the world: 'Go ahead and drop your damn bombs'."

Mailer said: "I think politics is like sex. You've got to go all the way. I'm for war with small weapons, knives and broken bottles and such as that. I'm against weapons that can kill at a distance, like nuclear bombs and rifles."

After police carted away the 26, others stayed in the park to enjoy the sun. Some cornered Dwight MacDonald to challenge his movie reviews in **Esquire** magazine.

But about 150 went along to court with the arrested demonstrators. There they heard Magistrate Edward Caiazzo accuse the defendants of "undermining democratic processes." He threatened to clear the court when the crowd laughed. "If you don't think you're living in a democratic country," he said, "you should be living in Korea, Turkey or Cuba."

THE SENTENCING: One of the defendants, Mrs. Lucia Shapiro, said she had never had a chance to vote on civil defense. Anne Morrissett, anothed defendant, said that there is a tradition of defying the law and taking the consequences.

The demonstrators pleaded guilty and, on May 6, Caiazzo sentenced them to five days in jail. Defense attorney Charles T. McKinney had asked the judge to "temper justice with understanding, not mercy." He said: "These are not the usual breed of defendants. They have addressed themselves to the greatest moral issues of our time . . . The future will be the final judge of the efficacy of their acts."

In imposing sentence Caiazzo told the demonstrators they had "done a disservice to the country. You've committed a crime . . . Organized defiance of laws is not allowed or condoned."

JAIL IS PICKETED: The next day the Civil Defense Protest Committee set up a picket line around the Women's House of Detention and pledged to continue picketing until the protesters were released. More than 500 persons joined the line during the first day. There were so many infants and children that police suggested separate picket lines for babies. From inside the jail prisoners joined pickets in singing "Down By The Riverside."

The city's campuses also seethed with rebellion. At Hunter College the deans announced in advance that they would "suspend from classes and bar from campus" for four days any student who refused to participate in the drill. Jack Newfield, editor of the student paper, Hunter **Arrow**, had called for a protest. He wrote: "The entire liberal community has recognized the idiocy of civil defense."

But the officials' threat managed to kill the demonstration. Only Toby Berman, a sophomore, refused to take cover during the drill. She was suspended from school immediately.

At City College more than 300 students refused to take shelter. Campus police picked up identification cards from about 100 and college officials said disciplinary action would be taken.

HIGH SCHOOLS TOO: At Brooklyn College 150 students sat on the steps of Boylan Hall in protest against "the false sense of security" given by the drill. Herbert H. Stroup, dean of students, went around taking names. He promised disciplinary action later. Immediately he banned publication of a photograph of the demonstration in the school paper. Two days later Lucille Feldman, in the space scheduled for the photograph announced her resignation as editor of the **Kingsman.**

Dean George B. Spitz and an assistant took photographs of the 75 demonstrators at Queens College. Later he said school officials were considering what to do.

At Columbia University, 45 students sat on the library steps during the drill but they were not bothered.

Students in several high schools also protested and were threatened by officials. At Erasmus Hall, Erika Price, 16, who gained attention several years ago when her parents refused to allow her to participate in the elementary school drills, marched into the principal's office with five other students. "The principal told us to go back and stop being young idealists; he said this was anarchy," she reported. "When we refused he told us to stand against the wall, but we stayed in the middle, talking and reading."

THE 'CASUALTIES': When the exercise ended, Gov. Nelson Rockefeller thanked the state's CD workers for their efforts "in an area which has not been understood by the public." He said it had been assumed that three H-bombs had hit Queens and Brooklyn. Assumed casualties were: 3,935,490 dead; 1,098,410 injured from initial blasts and heat; 1,405,000 killed later and 1,345,000 seriously injured by radiation, statewise.

Those who saw idiocy in the civil defense exercise got support from an expert source. The **Army Information Digest**, an official publication, on May 4 published an article entitled, "An Analysis of Soviet Attitudes on the Use of Military Power." It concluded that the Soviet Union was not undertaking to build the military force needed to carry out a surprise nuclear attack on the United States. It said: "Soviet leaders evidently consider it more essential to their longer-range position to fulfill their ambitious economic programs."

THE SOLE DEFENSE: Another official pin-prick to the civil defense balloon came from Gov. Robert Meyner of New Jersey at a Democratic luncheon last March 19. He said:

"If a city like San Francisco or Newark or Los Angeles or Trenton were to be hit by a few megaton bombs, everything in the Civilian Defense handbook would go out of the window . . .

"Now, let us suppose that people could come up out of the shelters. What kind of world would they come up to? What would they use for air? What would they use for food? What would they use for hospitals? What would they use for streets? What would they use for people? . . .

"That is why I say we are fostering a cruel deception on the American people if we try to persuade them that they can have civilian defense through underground shelters in the next war . . .

"There is one and only one defense against a nuclear war—and that is peace."

MAY 24 IN NEW YORK

Panel to discuss the Sobell case

THE CASE of Morton Sobell will be discussed by an unusual panel of speakers on Tuesday, May 24, at 8:15 p.m. at the Community Church, 40 E. 35th St., New York City. The panel comprises Rep. Randall S. Harmon (D-Ind.), who represents the Muncie district; Norman Thomas, the veteran Socialist leader; the Rev. Thomas Kilgore, pastor of the Friendship Baptist Church in New York; Dwight Macdonald, author and critic who is at present reviewing for **Esquire** magazine; Conrad Lynn, attorney active in NAACP affairs, and Mrs. Helen Sobell, Morton Sobell's wife. The chairman will be William Kunstler, professor of law at the New York Law School.

The group sponsoring the panel discussion includes the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Prof. Victor Paschis, A. J. Muste, Rabbi Harry Halpern, Jerome Nathanson, Maxwell Geismar, Murray Kempton, Dr. Leo Mayer, Max Eastman, Howard Radest, John F. Finerty, Dr. Horace Kallen, Dr. Rheinhold Niebuhr, and the Rev. Donald Harrington of the Community Church.

MORTON SOBELL

1960 prison photo, in civilian clothes for the occasion.

CALENDAR

CHICAGO

SOVIET FILMS. See & Discuss: Thur., Fri., Sat., May 19, 20, 21 "Moussorgsky" (in color w/ "Boris Godunov" excerpts); Thur., Fri., Sat., May 26, 27, 28 "True Friends" (satire on bureaucrats by Kalatozov, director of "The Cranes Are Flying"). Cross World Books, 333 S. Wacker Dr. (nr. Van Buren) 8:15 p.m. $1. Students 60c. HA 7-1042.

LOS ANGELES

Please Reserve **SUN., JUNE 12,** 10 a.m. on—10th Annual Festival of Nationalities at American-Croatian Hall, 330 So. Ford Blvd. Enjoy authentic art, music, dancing, food of all nationalities. Relax in atmosphere of world culture. Dance outdoors to exciting genuine Mexican marriachi. Ausp: L.A. Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

Testimonial Dinner National Lawyers Guild honoring charter member **J. ALLAN FRANKEL,** Fri., June 3rd, Biltmore Hotel. $12.50 plate. For reservations phone: Hollywood 9-4114.

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Fri., May 20, 8:15 p.m.
2. Sociological Imagination
Fri., June 3, 8:15 p.m.
Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4th St.
Questions discussion refreshments
Auspices: Militant Labor Forum

MAY PICNIC
Sun., May 22, Elysian Park, Spot No. 1 Dinner: 1 to 3 p.m. Baseball games for children and adults. Ausp: The Militant and The West Coast Vacation School.

EYEWITNESS REPORT ON CUBA
AL RICHMOND
Exec. Editor "People's World"
Outstanding political analyst
JUST BACK FROM CUBA
Will speak on Fri., May 20, 8 p.m.
Alexandria Hotel, 5th & Spring Sts.
Admission 75c Ausp: So. Calif. Committee for People's World

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Wed., May 18, 8 p.m. University Y.M.C.A., 1425 University Av. S.E.
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SAN FERNANDO VALLEY

Eye-Witness Report on Cuba
The Greater Community Baptist Chuch
Reverend T. G. Pledger
presents
AL RICHMOND, journalist
Reporting on his recent trip to Cuba, Sun., May 22, 7:30 p.m. 11066 Norris Av., Pacoima (6 blocks E. on San Fernando Rd. on Van Nuys Blvd.)
FREE ADMISSION

PHILADELPHIA

PHILADELPHIA FRIENDS OF 'GUARDIAN
discuss
"THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY":
Progress Report on Southern USA, S. Africa and in Philadelphia
Sat., May 21, 8:30 p.m. Boulevard Bldg., 4322 No. Broad St. Reports by: **REV. WM. HOWARD MELISH,** who just toured the South; **ROBERT C. QUEEN,** Ed. & Mgr. of Phila. **Courier;** an African Student now studying here. Entertainment opens program. Donation at door.

An "Evening on Cuba"
FRIDAY, MAY 27, 8:30 p.m. sharp **ADELPHIA HOTEL,** Chestnut & 13 Sts. **Sue Carr,** Phil. delegate to last month's Havana Congress of Cuban Socialist Youth, reports her trip. Late films & colored slides will be shown. Tickets advance 2 for $1.50; at door & singles $1; unemployed & students half price; children w. parents free. Tickets & further information contact: James Dolsen, 2018 N. 32 St., Phil 21, Phone: CEnter 2-0512

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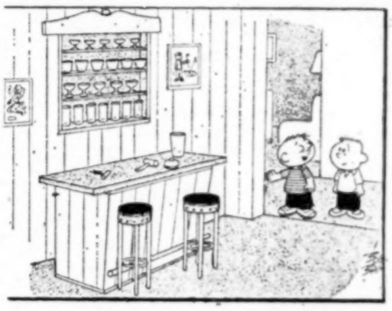
THE GALLERY

ALFRED M. LANDON, Republican Presidential candidate in 1936, will be a featured speaker at a disarmament rally in New York's Madison Square Garden May 19, sponsored by the Committees for a Sane Nuclear Policy. Landon said it will be his first speaking engagement in eight years. Other scheduled speakers include Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Dr. Harold Taylor, Walter Reuther, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Norman Cousins, Clarence Pickett, Gov. G. Mennen Williams and Norman Thomas. Harry Belafonte, Orson Bean, Tom Poston and Mike Nichols and Elaine May will entertain . . . The Hollywood Sane Committee, organized by Steve Allen and Robert Ryan, now has about 125 members, including Marlon Brando, Shirley MacLaine, Milton Berle, Jeff Chandler, Sammy Davis Jr., Gene Kelly, Groucho Marx, Kirk Douglas and Red Buttons. N. Y. **Times** correspondent Murray Schumach reported: "The organization would be bigger except that some actors, wary that somehow this may someday be connected with communism, are holding back. For example, one of the top stars, after joining other actors in making public-service recordings for this organization, decided to give it up. His lawyer had cautioned him." Schumach also reported that the witch-hunt atmosphere in Hollywood has cleared a little: "Finally, a man may buy a Picasso without being accused of communism." But, he added, "there are limits . . . to how far Hollywood intellectuals will stray. With very few exceptions, they remain discreet in public about the Hollywood blacklists they attack in private."

VICE PRESIDENT NIXON is pondering a couple of heavy questions. When asked to comment, he said he was still studying Premier Khrushchev's statement that to send Nixon to the Summit was like sending a goat to guard the cabbage patch. From the other end of the political spectrum, Albert Levitt, a Republican candidate for the Senate in New Hampshire, asked Nixon if his religious principles as a member of the Society of Friends would conflict with his duties as President if Congress declared war . . . A former Secret Service official, Harry Edward Neal, has invented a picture book for pre-school children which is secured by a padlock. Presumably no one gets the key without a loyalty oath.



De Lach, Amsterdam
"My father dabbles in chemistry."

LONDON'S STORMY BOROUGH of St. Pancras was good copy again last month. (In 1958 papers around the world carried stories of an attempt to tear down a red flag over the borough hall, placed there by the council on May Day.) The council went over to the Tories in the last election and one of their first moves was to institute a plan for raising rents. While the rent scheme was being discussed at a council meeting last month, Alderman Mrs. Kathleen Sheridan (Communist) rose to denounce the plan. Mayor Harold P. Bastie asked her to sit down. This touched off the packed gallery. About 50 irate tenants who face eviction showered the councilors with leaflets and shouted, "It's a swindle" and "Down with the Tories."

Eggs soon followed the leaflets. One hit Councilor R.G.D. Walker, messing his suit, and another struck Councilor Tony Prior, author of the rent scheme. Police arrived to clear the gallery but they had trouble freeing three tenants who chained themselves to their seats.

When order was restored, Councilor Prior said: "Of course, these people do not represent the general view of our council house tenants. They are just hooligans."

Two issues remained unsettled in addition to the rent scheme. One was how Deputy Mayor Mrs. L. A. Arabin fared in the melee. One demonstrator swore an egg "landed squarely on her new Easter bonnet and yolk ran down her face and dress." Mrs. Arabin insisted: "None of the eggs thrown at the meeting touched the deputy mayor at all." She also denied that she had fled from the hall during the egg throwing. "This was not so at all," she said. "I waited until the meeting was properly adjourned before leaving."

The other question was Alderman Sheridan's language. The London **Daily Express** reported that she had called the rent scheme a "ruddy insult." The London **Daily Worker** reported that she had said: "This is a bloody insult." Ruddy or bloody, no eggs were aimed at Mrs. Sheridan.

—Robert E. Light

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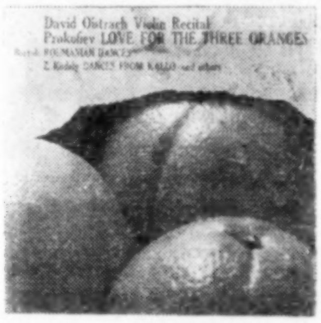
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the SPECTATOR

Thoughts on delinquency

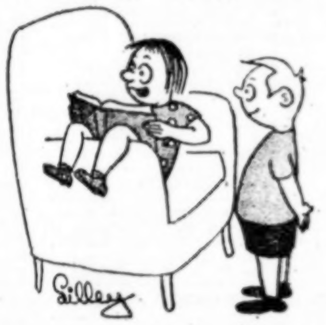
I HAVE JUST RETURNED from my street-corner—98th St. & Broadway in Manhattan—where I listened to such demagoguery as I thought I would never hear from a responsible left-wing speaker. The occasion was an open air rally for the May Day demonstration in Union Square.

The speaker was talking about juvenile delinquency. In a voice heavy with scorn, he announced that Governor Rockefeller had discovered "delinquency." Moreover, he had discovered that the "delinquents" were "juveniles." In this vein, he went on to talk about the pushing around the young people of the city receive from the police, and to inveigh against the new state laws which were signed a few days ago.

Now, there are many clear-cut political issues on which the left-wing must take a stand. Some of them were outlined on the leaflets I was handed. Juvenile delinquency is not a clear-cut issue—it is a jungle area in which professionals disagree. Much money is spent in New York to combat it, and how constructively is a matter of debate.

CERTAIN THINGS which may be clear to the man with the microphone are clear to me, and perhaps to you: that the growth of delinquency, both in degree and in violence, is symptomatic of the decadence of our society; that the lack of respect for life shown by a growing number of young people is directly related to living in the age of the atom bomb; that the lack of respect for the police and for civil authority is directly related to the known corruption of our municipal government.

Certain things, however, which are clear to me as a New Yorker do not seem at all clear to the man with the microphone: that our parks are unsafe for our children by day and for us adults at night; that certain streets have become impassable because they are some gang's "turf." In one week—in a good neighborhood—one of my children was hit on the head with a rock and knocked unconscious; another was beaten up and relieved of his baseball equipment; one had his jacket stolen—all while playing in a park playground. My daughters, on the CORE picket lines, have been spat upon, jostled and insulted, and followed in persecutory fashion by children as young as 12.



Lilley, London Daily Mirror

"This book on child psychology is smashin'—there's fings in it we've never even THOUGHT of doing!"

Those of us who live in New York take these things seriously. I think it is high time that the left-wing realized that this is a live issue, and that it should be met in practical terms. It is not enough to sneer—as did the young man on the corner—at a practical effort; and, with all due respect, it is begging the issue to call for a cut in the military budget as a direct solution.

I WOULD LIKE to suggest some steps which I have come to feel might be helpful in meeting some of the worst aspects of a problem which is immediate:

- More police in the parks and on the streets.
- Better lighting in the parks and on the streets.
- Psychiatric treatment for offenders as a condition of parole.
- Free clinics where parents whose children are getting into trouble can get professional advice.
- Half-way houses, or hostels, where offenders out of prison can live for a while while making a re-adjustment to society; these can also house young people who cannot remain at home, or who have no homes.
- Breaking up of the gangs, the very existence of which is a threat to whatever democracy we have and which will form—as they did in Germany—the manpower for the first fascist organizations, needing only to exchange their own uniforms for the new ones, for their tactics are the classic ones.
- A citizen's campaign against the glorification of violence in comic books, magazines and on television and in the movies.
- A policy of swift apprehension and "booking" of juveniles who commit offenses against the public. The knowledge that they will be caught will be a great deterrent to many of these young offenders.

In Leningrad, when "rowdyism" threatened the peace of the city streets, the citizens volunteered as an auxiliary police force to meet the danger. New Yorkers, whatever their political persuasion, have the same right to walk the streets and use the parks in peace. Ordinary people feel strongly about this, and I do not think the left-wing should continue to ignore this issue. At any rate, do think about it—and perhaps decide to ignore it completely rather than have people merely spout about the issue without saying anything constructive.

—**West Side Mother**

The GUARDIAN endorses the plea for thought and constructive proposals, and invites comment on the problems and ideas raised in this article.—Editor.

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